POLITICAL AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS IN ANCIENT PUNJAB

BUDDHA PRAKASH

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(From the Vedic Age upto the Maurya Period)

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CHAPTER I

GEOGRAPHY AND STRATEGY

1 *Geographical location of the Panjab.*

Nature has sedulously provided India with a unique system of physical defences. Her peninsular south is protected by vast seas, which had been deterring foreign invaders, until the rise of modern naval powers in the West, and its interior is ramparted with parallel chains of hills, which spread out eastwards from the Sahyadri Range and divide the plateau into a multitude of isolated valleys, washed by swift rivers, like the *sierras* of the Iberian Peninsula. Hence an invader from the north encounters the same ordeal of scaling the hills repeatedly, which faced the army of Napoleon in Spain. As regards the fertile plain of the Gangetic valley, stretching from the western borders of the modern province of Uttara Pradeśa to Bihar and Bengal, it is guarded in the north by the impregnable heights of the Himalayas and fortified in the south-west by the chain of the Aravalli hills, which end in the Ridge of Delhi on the Jumna river. To the west of these hills is the great Indian desert, prolonged seaward by the salty and partly tidal marsh of the Rann of Cutch. This waterless void, some 400 miles long and 150 miles wide, flanked by the Aravallis in the rear, has been an effective bulwark against the invaders from the north. Thus the ranges of the Himalayas in the north and the chain of the Aravallis in the south-west, bordered by a broad strip of desert, constitute a natural citadel of the Gangetic plain with the land between the north-eastern extremity of the desert and the foot of the Himalayas below Simla as a gateway, guarded by the defence-post of Delhi. No river flows through this gateway. Hence there is no problem of crossing or fording the rivers in spate. This gateway is littered with ancient battlefields like Kurukṣetra and Panipat, where the fate of India continued to be decided from ages immemorial. In the north-west this gateway opens out in the brown waste of the plains of the Panjab, which become a rippling ocean

of green wheat after the winter rains. This region has been acting as a glacis to the citadel of the Gangetic valley. It was repeatedly scaled by foreign invaders like the mythical Assyrians and the Dionysians and the historical Achaemenians and the Macedonians, but they produced no impression on the destiny of India, since the citadel remained in the strong hands of sturdy defenders, determined to repel them. Thus the Panjab bore the brunt of northern invaders more frequently and severely than the plains, ensconced in the citadel, described above.

2. *The north-western routes.*

Though the Panjab is also shielded by huge mountain ranges, there are some passes in its north-west, through which the stream of invaders, immigrants, merchants, pilgrims and travellers has been incessently trickling towards its attractive and fertile plain. Just north of the head of the Kabul river the mountains become narrow with the exception of the Hindu-Kush, that separates the valley of the Oxus from that of the Indus. In this mountain rivers have cut some defiles, which serve as pathways from the Oxus to the Indus. Descending down the course of the Balkh-ab, a route from Bactria passes through the Dandan-shikan and the Akrobat and Shibar passes and, moving along the curvilinear valley of the Surkhab and the Ghorband rivers, reaches Bamiyan and Kāpiśi. Another route, passing along the Kunduz and traversing the Murgh pass and the Khawak pass, courses along the united streams of the Andarab and the Panjashir and joins the first route at Kāpiśi. A third and straight route starts from Kāpiśi and moves through the Salang pass. From Kāpiśi the course of the Kabul provides a southern direction to the route. Passing by Nagalu, Mandrawar, Jalalabad, Hadda and Dakka, it enters the Michni pass and then, moving along Prang, Hotimardan, Shahbazgarhi and Swabi, reaches the famous ford of the Indus at Und. Under the Kuṣāṇas a sub-route branched off through the Khyber pass with Landi Kotal and Jamrud as its northern and southern out-posts and, going through Peshawar and Naoshera, debouched on the Indus at Attock. In later times this route became more important due to the rise of Peshawar. Similar routes marched along the Kuram and

Gomal rivers and reached the Indus near Mianwali and Dera Ismail Khan respectively. From the way, these rivers are mentioned in the *Ṛgveda*, it is apparent that their importance was due to the routes, which flanked them. Further south another route descends from Herat and Kandahar through the Bolan pass. In ancient times this route went further south over the Mūlā pass. The Khyber and the Bolan together with the three minor passes of the Kurram, the Tochi and Gomal comprise the well-known Five Fingers-natural routes of communication connecting Iran and Central Asia with India. Another highway, connecting the Indus region with Iran, runs through Makran in Baluchistan. Besides these routes, some important highways, connecting Kaśmīra with Central Asia also act as arteries of communication between the Panjab and the outside world. Two important routes across the Pamirs and the Karakoram mountains link Kaśmīra with the Chinese route, joining it at Kashghar and Khotan respectively. The route, passing through the Zogi-la pass in Ladakh, has maintained India's contact with Tibet and China from early times. Likewise, the highway through the Baramulla gateway and Gilgit, ascending the Pamirs and opening out at Kashghar, has played an important part in the history of India's relations with Asiatic countries. Through all these routes an unceasing stream of tribes and peoples has been flowing into the fertile land of the Five Rivers and mixing with its indigenous inhabitants from the very dawn of humanity.

3. *The mingling of peoples in the north-west.*

In the hills of Afghanistan the movements, migrations and mixtures of peoples are incessant and almost imperceptible. A large part of the population migrates to the open country during the summer. Among the nomads one comes across the black tents of Arab style as well as the round Mongol *khirga*. In the north of the Hindu Kush it is difficult to distinguish between the Aimak or Berberi and the diverse tribes of Mongols, Hazarah, Uzbegs, Turcomans etc., while in its south the principal Afghan or Pathan tribes, the Yusufzais, Mohmands, Afridis, Orakzais, Shinwaris, Waziris, Ghilzais, Abdalis etc. together with their infinite subdivisions of Khels or clans present a curious racial amalgam, which is hard

to analyse. In the Indo-Iranian populace, consisting of the Hindkis, Tājiks and Afghans, there is a queer sprinkling of the Turkish Qizil-bash, the Mongol Hazarah, the Khionite Hazarjat, the Jews and the Armenians. A Tibetan strain is often manifest among the mountaineers of this region and Chinese faces sometimes greet the eyes in the markets of Peshawar and Chinese blood flows in the veins of the Chin Jats of the Panjab. Hence Babur was right in remarking that in no other country of the world one finds such diversity of peoples and languages.[1]

4. *The movements of the nomads*

Among the nomads of Central Asia the movements of peoples are marked by a rhythm and regularity, that characterise the periodic changes of climate and the consequent alternations of the cycles of vegetation and desiccation. In these wanderings the nomads assume the form of a caravan, which looks like an armed troop and easily becomes an army under a powerful chief. As Demolins has shown, the great invasions of Attila, Chingis Khan and other nomadic peoples represented nothing more than the great caravans of the Steppe nomads, turned into an army.[2] Formed from the whole people, including women, children and flocks, such caravans resulted in the movements of the whole populations, which assimilated much of the culture of the country, they conquered, and also contributed a lot to the racial formation of its inhabitants. Hence the social consequences of the invasions of the nomads often outweighed their political shocks or military brilliance. René Grousset has calculated that in China the razzias and raids of the Turco-Mongol nomads occurred almost every ten years except under the Han and T'ang dynasties.[3] In fact, the *limes* of a sedentary community like China has been marked by an admixture of nomadic elements to such an extent that

1. Babur's Mémoirs tr. by Pavet de Courteille Vol. I p. 237 Vide, M. Elphinston, *Account of the Kingdom of Caubul* (London 1819); H. W. Bellew, *The Races of Afghanistan*; A. Hamilton, *Afghanistan* ch. X; A. Burnes, *Travels into Bokhara* Vol. II pp. 415-416.

2. Edmond Demolins, *Comment la route crée le type social* Vol. I pp. 72-76.

3. René Grousset, *Bilan de l'histoire* pp. 284-285.

exchanges of blood and ideas between them become a regular feature of life.

5. *The regularity of migrations & invasions.*

In the Panjab also the infiltration of foreign elements, sedentary as well as nomadic, among the local peoples is a pronounced characteristic of daily life. History may keep a record of prominent invasions only, having political consequences, but they are preceded and followed by recurrent inroads, which almost pass unnoticed. As Jean Přzyluski has observed, the Achaemenian and Macedonian invasions were not isolated incidents, but linking episodes in a long chain of raids or invasions. In his words : "La conquête du Penjab par Darius, au vle. siècle, et l' éxpédition d'Alexandre, deux siècles plus tard, sont des épisodes présents á toutes les mèmoires. Mais ce ne sont pas des événements isolés. Ils s'enchaînent dans une longue série de raids, d' incursions et de conquêtes, qui, ont commencé dès l' époque préhistorique longtemps avant que la même route ait été suivie par les Aryens". This process of raids or razzias is also discernible in the Muslim conquest of the north-west. After the occupation of Kabul by the rulers of Gazni, raids and razzias into the interior of the plains became an annual autumnal feature like the military marches of local rajas on the eve of the Daśehra festival. As Sir Jadunath Sarkar has put it, "from the first centre of Muslim power in India went forth year after year every autumn at first raiding and ultimately conquering parties to the Hindu kingdom next on its eastern frontier, which in the course of two or three years suffered the same fate. Lured by reports of fabulous wealth to be gained by plundering the Hindus, thousands of trans-frontier Turks and Pathans flocked to the conquering Sultan's banners every autumn, asking for no pay but only permission to plunder in his train. Thus the base of Muslim power in India was generation after generation shifted south-east-wards by the same process of raid, feudatory subordination and full annexation, till the Muslim advance dashed against the hills of Assam."[5]

4. Jean Przyluski, 'L' influence Iranienne en Grece et dans l' Inde,' *Revue de l' Université de Bruxelles* Vol. 37 (1932) p. 286.

5. Jadunath Sarkar, *Military History of India* ch I 'How Geography dictates Strategy,' *The Hindustan Standard* August 10, 1952.

Quite similar in the regularity of infiltration and steadiness of advance were the earlier movements of the Indo-Mediterranean, Indo-Austroloid, Indo-European and Caucasian peoples, which are obscured by the mists of antiquity. The only difference in the migrations of these peoples seems to be that they were völkerwanderungen rather than mere invasions. In other words the tribes shifted bag and baggage and founded their settlements in their new habitat with the help of arms, if necessary. Foucher has imagined the advance of the Aryans as follows :—

"Far from being a unique phenomenon of history, the Aryan invasion, a simple episode in the periodic descents of the nomads of Central Asia in the Indian plains, has been subject to many misinterpretations.... It is not necessary to hold that there is a world of difference between a caravan with its escort , an Asiatic army with its followers and a people on march. In any case, there is only one mode of passing through the pathways of the passes, which is known as the Indian file. For all, the rhythm of the progress at best consists of short daily marches, marked at more or less short intervals by halt-posts of some days, some weeks for the caravans, some months or seasons for the armies, of lustra or rather generations for the peoples. Lastly, let us not forget that a migration of tribe with women, children and flocks, tents, arms and baggage, continues to be a fact of common occurrence on the routes of Afghanistan and is the most picturesque spectacle, which they offer to a stranger. Undoubtedly, it is no more than a seasonal movement of transhifting unrolling itself on a much less scale.

One day—it should be the beginning of autumn, the season most favourable for voyage, for it is when there is negligible snow on the earth, little water in the river and no storm in the sky— a tribe or a confederation of tribes, sufficiently powerful to impose itself by force, sets out on a march on the report of some enthusiastic explorer and under the leadership of an enterprising chief. The provisions had been made for traversing the mountains; on the other side, one would live on the country; the flocks would manage to graze throughout the route. It has become necessary to leave the chariots behind; but just as now, the little children, the lambs and the new-born, the tents, clothes, utensils, provisions are divided

and loaded on the backs of pack-animals, horses, mules and bullocks: of camels, there is little or no question, only the chiefs and the aged are mounted. The grown-up children and the women walk on foot with the men, leading by the strings the beasts, which bear their entire fortune. Of course, the parties of soldiers form the advance-guard and cover the flanks and rear of the interminable column for protecting it against the possible attacks of the mountaineers—among whom—let it be noted in passing, we see the same Tibetan population, which, pushed back to this or that side of the passes of the Hindu-Kush by the invaders, continue to occupy the mountains of Hazarjat as well as the Little Tibet of Kaśmira. Hard and perilous enterprise, dozens of fatigues and incessant dangers : but at last the tribe has passed, by a path or many at a time, and lo ! "here is the valley of Kāpiśi."[6]

In this way the tribes of migrants gradually advanced towards India. But when they tried to settle down in some green valley, other tribes, following in their footsteps, dislocated them and goaded them on a further march. Sometimes there were internecine conflicts among these invading tribes and sometimes one group of them allied itself with the native people to stem the advance of others. But the tide steadily moved and swept through the whole glacis of the Panjab. The *Ṛgveda* gives us a picture of the alliances and conflicts of Aryan tribes, forging their way through the Sapta Sindhu regions, to the realms of the Bharatas in the valley of the Yamunā and the Gaṅgā.

6. *The evolution of the culture of the glacis-region.*

Thus we observe that the Panjab and Gandhāra have developed a glacis-culture, which is characterised by an assimilative spirit, resilient outlook, bellicose temperament, practical standpoint, independent tendency and a somewhat liberal bent of mind. Their people shun the conservative, traditionalist and caste-ridden culture of the sedate land of the Gangetic citadel and reveal a broadness and elasticity in morals and ideas, which is an anathema to the peoples of the east.

6. A. Foucher, *La vieille route de l' Inde de Bactres à Taxila* Vol. II p. 184.

CHAPTER II

THE ERA OF ARYAN INVASIONS

1 *The dawn of history*

The dawn of history shimmers in the river-valleys of the Panjab about the same time as in the valleys of the Tigris-Euphrates and the Nile. Long ago, while wandering in search of game, man realised that the seeds and fruits, found at the tips of plants and trees, have nutritive properties, comparable to those of meat. He also felt that with a little labour and ingenuity he could improve the quality and increase the yield of these esculent substances. Soon the hunting stage changed into the food-gathering and corn-growing periods. Man gave up his wandering habit and settled down in fixed abodes. Villages[1] sprang up from the bosom of the earth, where man established a permanent connection with the soil. Russian scientists like Vasilov have demonstrated that bread-wheat originated from "a centre near the Panjab, the fold between the Hindu-Kush and the Himalayas". It was the original wheat, which was the source of the varieties, grown in Mesopotamia, Europe and North America. With the birth and growth of agriculture, the crystalisation of social relations and the specialisation of economic functions also proceeded and developed. A special class of artisans and craftsmen came into existence, whose function was to manufacture the implements, needed for agricultural operations. These persons used to barter their goods for corn and other things in the villages. In course of time the places for the meeting of the workmen and farmers became fixed. The periodical fairs and markets assumed the permanent form of towns. The towns were the centres of industry, trade and wealth, where the concept of private property assumed a unique significance and articulation. Artisans, traders and owners of property began to impress their special marks and signs on their goods to denote their

1. J. B S. Haldane, *Inequality of Man and Other Essays.*

exclusive titles and claims. Exigencies of commerce also resulted in some sort of account-keeping through signs and symbols. Thus writing was born. These two interrelated and synchronous tendencies of urbanity and literacy became the keynotes of the genesis of human civilization.[2]

In Baluchistan and Sind we find traces of the peasant communities of the Bronze Age, which lead us to infer that similar settlements flourished in the Panjab also. Sir Aurel Stein has discovered a large series of artificial stone-built dams and terraces, designed for the irrigation of fields. In the Mashkai valley in Baluchistan a well-preserved pair of massive stone-faced dams was constructed to contain and direct flood-water issuing from the hills above. Further to the north, near the Lakorian pass the remains of a huge barrage of a length of 348 yards, intended to dam a vast volume of water, announce man's successful struggle with the problem of drought and flood. These early conquerors of nature established numerous settlements in the repelling and inhospitable regions of Makran, Kharan and Jhalawan in South Baluchistan. They developed their distinctive cultures, characterised by typical pottery and artifice. Archaeologists have divided these cultures into two groups after the colour of pottery, associated with them : buff-ware cultures and red-ware cultures. The former group comprises the Quetta culture, attested at sites in the Bolan pass, the Amri-Nal culture, found at Amri in Sind and the Nal valley in Baluchistan, and the Kulli culture, observed at Kolwa in South Baluchistan, and the latter consists of the Zhob cultures, discovered at several sites in the Zhob valley in North Baluchistan. These cultures developed in small peasant settlements, consisting of houses, built of stones or mud-bricks, which resemble the rural communities, known throughout the Ancient East in prehistoric times. In the early stages these cultures had a course parallel to those of Ancient Iran, but in later developments they underwent the influence of the prosperous cities of Harappa culture. The decoration of vessels with the designs of heart-shaped *pipal* leaves or figures of bull and cow

shows the inspiration of Harappa. On the other hand the Harappan bronze figure of a dancing girl, with a coiffure, prevalent in Kulli culture, proves that the merchants, returning from the Baluchi hills, brought back with them women, whose fashions were aped in the Panjab.[3] These Baluchi merchants had also regular connections with Sumer. A scene of bull-worship, which is a typical Indian rite, on a red-ware pot, found in Sumer, the figure of a humped bull on a steatite cup, discovered at Tell Agrab in the Diyala region, and another on a cylinder-seal from Ur, and the clay-figurines of humped bulls, exhumed at Susa, point to the influence of Indian culture in the Middle East, which followed the regular exchanges and activities of merchants.

In course of time these cultures were engulfed in a current of standardisation and uniformity, which coursed from the Makran coast to Kathiawar in the south, Bikaner in the east and the Himalayan foothills in the north. Recent explorations have revealed that the Indus culture, which was maturing there, spread further to the east. At Alamgirpur (distt. Meerut), Bhatpura and Manpur (distt. Bulandshahar) and Bahadarabad (distt. Saharanpur) evidence of the existence of the Harappa culture, particularly thick red-ware, has been found.[4] Recently Mr. D. K. Chakravarti, Superintendent, Museums and Archaeology, West Bengal, has informed the present author that Indus Valley objects have been found at Rajardhibi mound, six miles from Bhedia, in the Burdwan district. The present author has not, however, seen the exhibits or reports and is unable to testify to the correctness of the said report. In Rajasthan Kalibangam and in the Ahmedabad district Lothal as well as Bhagatrav on the Kim, a small river discharging into the Arabian sea between the Narmada and Tapti, provide southern landmarks of this culture. In this vast territory houses began to be built of baked bricks, according to standard dimensions, stamp-seals were engraved with similar scenes and a uniform script, weights and measures assumed a unique standardisation and pottery

3. Stuart Piggott, *Prehistoric India* p. 117.

4. Y. D. Sharma, 'Copper Hoards and Ochre-colour Ware in the Ganga Basin,' *International Conference on Asian Archaeology, Summaries of Papers* pp. 51-55.

vessels were decorated with identical designs and patterns. Among the numerous sites of this age, found in this vast area, some are villages, others are small towns, a few are large towns, as along the line of the now dry Ghaggar river in the desert areas of the Bahawalpur state and two are the big cities of Harappa and Mohenjodaro, laid out to a common ground plan, each with its defenced citadel, towering above the rest of the town, acting as twin capitals of one unified kingdom. The use of baked bricks of uniform types at these sites is a symbol of the urbanised and organised state of society. The laying of streets, designing of houses, canalisation of water and construction of baths and granaries imply a high degree of control and coordination.

In the cosmopolitan culture of Harappa and Mohenjodaro the Proto-Austroloids and the Mediterraneans seem to have mixed with the Alpines and the Mongoloids. These races had commingled in a social communion, which was characterised by economic distinctions. These people made great strides in agriculture, industry and art. Though bronze, copper, tin, lead, gold and silver were the only metals, they worked upon, they attained remarkable efficiency in making articles of art and utility. The bronze figurine of a dancing girl, referred to above, is a fine piece. Among sculptures the most notable are two male figures, one clad in a richly decorated cloak and the other nude. Stamp seals, decorated with the motifs of bulls, unicorns, buffaloes, tigers, goats, elephants and rhinoceroses, attest the artistic skill of these people. But most of the works of these people were of a utilitarian character. They cast tools in closed moulds and finished them by hammering and grinding. They cast the figurines by the cire-perdu process. A notable find is a bronze saw, that once had a wooden handle. Plates of copper and bronze were fastened together by rivets. Gold and silver were soldered. The metals were smelted in brick furnaces. Boat-building was a regular industry. Numerous spindle-whorls testify to the importance of the textile industry, which was famous far and wide. A fine wheel-turned pottery, both decorated and plain, was common. The outlook of the people was mainly commercial.

The religion of the people of the Harappa culture centred on the worship of Mother Goddess, to whom bloody sacrifices

were also often offered,[5] and a three-faced male deity, believed to be the prototype of Śiva. Representation of the gods was both iconic and phallic. Several animals were also held sacred and tree-spirits were also venerated. The Great Bath at Mohenjodaro may have had some ritual significance, though its absence at Harappa throws doubt about its religious association. As a matter of fact, the precise character of the Harappan religion and culture can only be ascertained after the determination of the script and language of this age. Several attempts have been made to decipher this script, but all of them are hitherto conjectural and tentative and it is futile to enter into a detailed discussion of their pros and cons.

The Harappa culture had, however, far-flung contacts and relationships, which throw some light on its approximate age. A seal like those, confined to the Late Period at Mohenjodaro, has been found at Eshunna in layers, pertaining to 2600-2500 B.C. so that the early period at Mohenjodaro reaches back to about 2800 B.C. A similar seal has been found at Ur in a tomb, which is not older than 2150 B. C.[6] Some cylinder seals of Indian inspiration have been discovered at Tell Asmar and a green steatite cup, depicting a Brāhmaṇī bull, has been unearthed at Tell Agrab, as noted above. A jar with a Sumero-Babylonian inscription has been found at Mohenjodaro, which suggests a period of 2800-2500 B.C.

5. Mr. K. N. Shastri holds that the principal deity of the Indus people was not the mother goddess, but a god residing in the sacred tree of pipal (*aśvattha-deva*) and attended by seven subordinate male deities corresponding to the seven Maruts of the Vedic age. The Indus region was dominated not by the female but by the male element. [K. N. Shastri, *New Light on the Indus Civilization and Its Early Contact with Iraq and Iran*, International Conference on Asian Archaeology, *Summaries* of *Papers* p. 51] T. N. Ramachandran holds that the Harappan civilization is primarily Vedic. He explains the ritual objects, found there, in terms of Vedic data. The three-faced male-deity, according to him, is the *Mahodeva*, mentioned in the Veda. He goes to the extent of holding that this civilization represents an advanced stage of Vedic culture. It is difficult to pronounce any final opinion on this difficult subject until the Harappan script is satisfactorily deciphered. As is believed by a majority of scholars, the Vedic people came into close contact with the Harappan people. Hence it is no wonder that we find many features common to the Harappans and the Vedic people. The latter may have borrowed many of the ritualistic ideas of the former. However, final decision must be reserved on this subject. [T. N. Ramachandran, 'New hight on Harappan seals', *Ibid* p. 44]

6. Carleton, *Buried Empires* p. 145.

for the culture of this region.[7] A comparison of the plain and painted ware in the Harappa culture area with similar specimens in Sumer, Elam and Egypt also vouchsafes almost the same date. This conclusion is coroborated by carbon-14 tests. In the uppermost four layers of Kot Diji, which represent a pure or mixed Indus civilization, the carbon-14 tests have revealed a date of 2463 B.C. with a possible error of about 140 years on either side.[8] Recently, excavations at some ancient sites in the Bahrein Island in the Persian Gulf have revealed significant traces of Harappan civilization. At the site of Ras al-Qala'a round-bellied red pottery, decorated with chain-like applied ridges, round stamp seals with naturalistic representations of animals, including bulls, that are reminiscent of the square seal of the Harappa civilization, have been unearthed. Of special significance is a fragment bearing an Harappan inscription. The layers, where these objects have been found, are pre-Sargonid in date. They belonged to a few centuries prior to the beginning of the second millenium B. C. It appears that there was a brisk commercial contact between Bahrein and the seats of Harappan culture, possibly by sea routes. Bahrein must be an intermediate outpost in the transmission of Indian goods to Mesopotamia.

The culture of Harappa came to an end as a result of the advent of invaders, who killed and burnt and destroyed. In Baluchistan the third phase at Rana Ghundai ended with the sacking and burning of the settlement. The fourth phase, representated by a different type of pottery, met the same fate. In Nal the last phase of the Zhob-ware settlement also perished in a conflagration. Even at present the site is called *Sohr Damb* the Red Mound, because of its fire-reddened soil. At Dabar Kot the upper part of the tell shows no less than four thick ash-layers, implying repeated destruction by fire. To avoid the terrible catastrophe, the people of these regions rushed to the sheltered towns like Mohenjodaro with their belongings.

7. C. L. Fabri, 'A Sumero-Babylonian Inscription discovered at Mohenjodaro' *Indian Culture* Vol. II pp. 66-73.

8. Stuart Piggott, *The Dawn of Civilization* p. 230.

9. T. G. Bibby, 'Bronze Age Cultures of the Persian Gulf in the Light of Recent Excavation', *International Conference on Asian Archaelology, Summaries of papers* pp. 29-30.

This explains the abundance of the pottery and stone vessels of South Afghanistan types in the later levels of Mohenjodaro, which indicates a sudden strengthening of contact between the Harappa and Kulli cultures. But the hosts of invaders, which dislocated them from their homes, were presently on their heels. Streaming down the passes of the Bolan, Gomal, Lak Phusi and the Gaj valley and crossing the Kirthar Range, they pounced on the flourishing cities of the Indus valley. The remains of these cities are mute witnesses to the tragedy of destruction, which they underwent. At Chanhudaro a barbarian settlement appears in the deserted ruins of the old town, which is associated with a new culture known as Jhukar. Its seals and beads are manifestly foreign to the culture of Harappa. Heine-Geldern has shown that the objects, found at the uppermost levels of the sites of Harappan civilization, are entirely different from those, peculiar to it. The bronze axe-adze of Mohenjodaro resembles those of the long tubular collar type, discovered in Rumania, the Ukraine, northern Caucasus (Faskau), Assyria and Iran. It originated in Transylvania in the first half of the second millenium B.C. and spread towards Iran and India between 1200 and 1000 B.C. In Assyria some specimens of them are found in a temple of the ninth century B.C. A bronze male head from Chanhudaro of the Jhukar level is analogous to those from Luristan and Hissar III C. A copper rod from the uppermost level of Harappa with the top, shaped in the form of a dog attacking an antelope, corresponds to the bronze pins from Hissar III C, Koban and Luristan, having the motifs of a dog chasing a deer in the form of the head. A pin from the topmost level of Mohenjodaro, having a top, made of two deer heads, is modelled on the pins from Koban and the copper rods from Hissar III C with heads, made of two horse heads. The seals from the Jhukar level of Chanhudaro agree with those from Anatolia of the Hittite period in design and fabric and are fundamentally different from Harappan seals. Two large bronze daggers from Fort Munro in Sulaiman Range correspond to those from western Iran, on some of which there are inscriptions of the Babylonian king Marduk-nadin-akhe, who reigned from 1116 to 1101 B.C. A dozen and a half double-edged copper swords with antennae hilts from the Gangetic basin and Hyderabad

resemble those, associated with the Koban culture in Caucasus. B. B. Lal points out the differences in their designs, but Heine-Geldern holds that they are due to the diversity of metals and local variations in techniques. All these objects suggest that there was an invasion of the Panjab and Sind from the West and North-West, which put an end to Harappan culture.[10]

Fairservis has shown that in Baluchistan in the Quetta valley, a new type of pottery replaces the old, which is common to that of the Harappa culture sites. This new type is a heavy hand-made ware, decorated rather coarsely with simple designs sometimes in polychrome. The designs are of two types, simple geometric forms and curvilinear motifs, the latter sometimes having a tendril like appearance. This pottery type appears in Rana Ghundai IV phase. It is common on the surface of Dabar Kot, Periano Ghundai and Kaudain. Fairservis called it *Ghul* ware. In North Baluchistan at Rana Ghundai IV level we find a wheel-made ware, decorated in broad lines of black and red running horizontally around the body of the vessels. The rim is frequently decorated with loops and hatching. Various other geometric and curvilinear motifs now appear. This type of decoration suggests the Jhukar style. This ware is found at Dabar Kot, Moghul Kala and Kaudain. According to Fairservis, these new pottery types are good candidates for consideration as markers of the period of Aryan occupation.[11]

At Mohenjodaro the outbrust of invaders is manifest in the distraction of the people, who buried hoards of jewellry and precious objects in the latest strata, divided large houses into smaller rooms to make room for more persons and built pottery-kilns within the boundaries of the city. The invaders plunged into their streets and houses and killed them, whereever they stood. The skeletons of persons, found in the streets and staircases without any burial equipment, tell a tale of this invasion. In one house 13 skeletons, two having cuts on heads, and elsewhere 9 contorted skeletons have been found. In

10. R. Heine-Geldern, 'The Coming of the Aryans and the End of the Harappa Civilization', *Man* Vol 56 (1956) pp. 136-39.

11. Walter A. Fairservis, The Chronology of the Harappan Civilization and the Aryan Invasion—A Recent Archaeological Research', *Man* Vol. 56 (1956) pp. 153-156;

a well 2 skeletons and in the neighbouring lane 2 other skeletons lay. The advent of the invaders is also proved by the swords up to 1½ feet long of the type, associated with the Hyksos in Palestine, found at these sites. Harappa also bore the brunt of foreign invaders. We learn from the rebuilding of the citadel walls of this city that the inhabitants were threatened by some invasion. But these measures proved futile before the invaders, who stormed the citadels and settled on their ruins in mud-huts. That the invaders swooped through the north-western passes is clear from the find of a curious type of flat coppr axe with lateral lugs, called 'trunnion-celt', in Kurram in the N.W.F.P. This axe resembles the type, found in Europe, Transcaucasia and northern Iran at Turang Tepe. These axes belong to the last centuries of the second millenium B. C. or beginning of the first millenium B. C. in the opinion of Heine-Geldern! Another important find is a bronze sword from Rajanpur in the Panjab, the hilt of which recalls those, discovered in the Luristan graves of Persia. Swords of such hilts also exist in the Late Bronze Age Talish graves of the Caucasus.

The collapse of the Harappa culture settlements and the rise of new peoples on their sites is almost contemporaneous with the intrusions and movements of invaders in the Middle East. After Naramsin the Kingdom of Akkad fell a prey to the Guti and other tribes. About two centuries later the Amurru "whose onslaught was like a hurricane and who had never known a city", fell upon Mesopotamia. The Hittite empire expanded in Anatolia and a völkerwanderung swept over Syria and Persia. At Hissar III, Giyan, Sialk, Turong Tepe and Shah Tepe we observe new types of tools, weapons and ornaments, based on those of Early Dynastic times in Sumer, which had come into vogue among the barbarians. This movement of war-bands can be traced from the Caspian as far eastwards as Anau in Russian Turkestan, Nad-i-Ali in Afghan Siestan, Moghul-ghundai in North Baluchistan and Jiwanry and Zangian in South Baluchistan. These archaeological traces[12] of the coming of war-bands in India assume a unique signi-

12. Robert Heine-Geldern, 'Archaeological Traces of the Vedic Aryans', *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art* (1936) Vol. IV, fascicule 2; 'New Light on the Aryan Immigration to India', *Bulletin of the American Institute for Iranian Art and Archaeology* (1937) Vol. V no. 1.

ficance in the light of the literary data of the *Ṛgveda*. In fact, the Vedic literature is the first literary source for the reconstruction. of the history of ancient Panjab and the understanding of the social system, that was maturing there.

2. *Archaeology and the Aryans.*

It is believed by archaeologists that the Aryans, coming from the North-West, put an end to the Harappan civilization of the Panjab and Sind. Indra, the fort-breaker (*Purandara*), "who rends forts as age consumes a garment," is taken to be a symbol of these Aryan invaders.[13] According to Mortimer Wheeler, they represent the cemetery H culture at Harappa. B.B. Lal objects to this view on three grounds : (1) There is a clear hiatus between cemetery H culture and Harappa culture. In the cemetery area a five to seven feet thick debris layer intervened between the Harappan cemetery R 37 and the lower stratum of cemetery H itself and in the habitation area the rickety walls, associable with cemetery H culture, were separated from those of Harappa culture by a deposit of not less than four feet in thickness. This shows that the Harappa culture was not in existence when the people, represented by the cemetery H culture, came and settled at that site. (2) The cemetery H people have revealed the features of the Proto-Austroloids and the Armenoids, but not the northern Steppe folk, who are associated with the Aryans. (3) The ware, characteristic of cemetery H, namely a very distinctive black-on-red ware, is found only at two other sites in the Bahawalpur region, but not in the valleys of the Sarasvati, Gaṅgā and the Yamunā, where the Aryans are known to have played a major part.[14]

Lal believes that the Aryans were the people, represented by the painted grey ware culture. This ware has a fine to medium grained light grey core with the surface varying in shade from ashy to darkish grey. The grey colour of the pottery is apparently due to its being fired under reducing conditions in the kiln. The pots are usually wheel-turned,

13. Mortimer Wheeler in *The Dawn of Civilization* ed. Stuart Piggott, p. 249.

14. B. B. Lal, 'Protohistoric Investigation', *Ancient India* Silver Jubilee Number (1953) p. 88.; M. S. Vats *Excavations at Harappa* Vol. I pp. 203 ff.

but hand-made specimens are not wanting. The commoner type, represented in this ware, are bowls with slightly convex or, as in a few cases, round profile and shallow dishes with sagger or flat base as well as a vessel like *lota*. This ware has been found by Lal at about 30 sites including Panipat, Tilpat, Pehowa, Rajā Karan ka Kila, Mathura, Kurukṣetra, Inderpat, Kampil, Barnawa, Chhat, Baghpat, Rupar, Kotla Nihang, Ahicchatra etc. Ghosh has found it at 20 sites in the Ghaggar valley. This ware occurs up to Lakhiyo Pir (Pakistan) in the west, Vaiśāli in the east, Rupar in the north and Ujjain in the south. Similar ware is found at Seistan also. Wheeler has shown that it may be related, though links are not available, to the bowls, found in secondary burials at Shahi Tump in Baluchistan.[15]

Some of the places, where the painted grey ware is found, are those, associated with the Kurus in the *Mahābhārata*. The five villages, demanded by the Pāṇḍavas from the Kauravas, according to the Great Epic,were Hastināpura (Āsandi), Indraprastha (Inderpat or Purana Kila at Delhi), Vṛkasthalā (Baghpat, 20 miles north of Delhi) Vāraṇāvata (Barnawa, 19 miles north-west of Meerut) and Pāṇiprastha (Panipat) or Kurukṣetra). It is significant that painted grey ware is abundantly found at all these sites.[16] At Hastinapur this ware is found in Period II, when the houses were made of mud or wattle-and-daub and agriculture and cattle-breeding as well as occasional hunting were the main occupations of the people. Among the domesticated animals the horse (equus caballus) occupied an important place in contrast to the Harappan culture.[17] The tools and weapons were mostly of copper,though in the upper levels of the period iron slags are also met with. This period came to an end as the result of a flood in the Gaṅgā, which washed away a considerable portion of the settlement. The traces of this flood can be seen in the form of erosion-marks, left on the mound itself, as well as some of the washed-away material, encountered in the river bed as many as fifteen metres below the water-level. The occurrence of this flood is corro-

15. Stuart Piggott, *The Dawn of Civilization* p. 250.
16. B. B. Lal, 'The Painted Grey Ware of the Upper Gangetic Basin', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal* Vol. XVI, no. 1 (1950) pp. 89-102.
17. A. D. Pusalkar, 'Horse in Protohistoric India', *Munshi Indological Felicitation Volume* [Bombay 1963] pp. 237-241.

borated by the remark, made in the Purāṇas that Nicakṣu shifted the capital to Kauśāmbi after the sweeping away of Hastināpura by the Gaṅgā.[18] After a lapse of time this site was again occupied by people, who used the northern black polished ware, which, on the basis of evidence from Kauśāmbi, Taxila etc., may be dated from *circa* sixth to second century B.C. The flood may, therefore, be dated to cir. eighth century B.C. and the beginning of the painted grey ware occupation to cir. 1100 B.C.

At Rupar and Alamgirpur, the painted grey ware is sandwitched between the Harappa culture ware, on the one hand, and the northern black polished ware, on the other, without any overlap on either side. At Kotla Nihang the ware was found strewn over the deserted ruins of the Harappan settlement. Thus it is clear that the painted grey ware culture succeeded at most of the sites, mentioned above, the Harappan culture.

Associated with the painted grey ware is at some places found a black slipped ware, which seems to have proved a forerunner of the northern black polished ware.

Fairservis,[19] as seen above, considers the Ghul ware "as a good candidate for consideration as a marker of the period of Aryan occupation."

Stuart Piggott holds that the resemblances among the copper tools, heads and personal and portable objects at Jhukar, Shahi Tump, last phase of Mohenjodaro, Anau III, Hissar III are "manifestations of a fairly homogenous semi-nomadic culture". There are, however, differences in the pottery types found at these places, which show that the nomadic peoples were accustomed to adopt the pottery of the local people. Thus he regards these sites as representatives of a diffuse movement of peoples eastwards in the first half of the second millenium B. C.[20] The cultural changes, represented at sites like Rana Ghundai IV-V, second and third occupation levels at Chanhudaro, called Jhukar and Jhangar, the burials at Moghul

18. B. B. Lal, 'Excavations since Independence', *Cultural Forum* (December 1961) p. 25.

19. Walter A. Fairservis, *Op. cit.* pp. 155-156.

20. Stuart Piggott, 'The Chronology of Prehistoric North-West India', *Ancient India*, (Jan. 1946) pp. 24-25.

Ghundai, Jiwanri, Zangian etc. are attributed to the invasions of the Aryan people.

Heine-Geldern thinks that the copper hoards of the Gangetic basin represent the advance of the Aryans. These copper objects include harpoons, antennae swords, shouldered axes, anthropomorphic figures etc. They are spread over a considerable area from Bahadarabad in the Saharanpur district, U.P. to Kallur in Andhra Pradesh. B. B. Lal has distinguished them from corresponding objects, found elsewhere in Eurasia.[21] But, as Heine-Geldern has shown, these differences may be due to local variations in styles rather than fundamental distinctions in ideas and techniques.[22]

Associated with the copper hoards at sites like Bisauli (distt. Badaun), Rajpur Parsu (distt. Bijnor) and Bahadarabad (distt. Saharanpur) is an ill-fired ochre-coloured pottery. This pottery is found in Period I at Hastinapur, just below period II, characterised by the painted grey ware. At several other sites also it is fairly wide-spread.

The above brief review of the various theories, associating different archaeological strata and objects with the Aryans, shows that their proponents believe that the Aryans came to India *en masse* in one particular period. Gordon thinks that they came in 1800-1600 B. C.;[23] Mackay holds that they migrated in the middle of the sixteenth century B.C.";[24] Wheeler believes that they invaded about 1500 B. C.[25]; Fairservis and Heine-Geldern opine that they moved between 1200 and 1000 B.C.[26] Fairservis also holds that they came through Baluchistan and the Gomal pass. "The evidence for a Jhukar occupation of Baluchistan in the Gomal pass area suggests," he writes, "that that pass was used by invaders at the end of prehistoric times.

21. B. B. Lal, 'Further Copper Hoards from the Gangetic Basin and a Review of the Problem', *Ancient India* no. 7 (1951) p. 35.

22. Robert Heine Geldern, 'The Coming of the Aryans and the End of the Harappan Civilization', *Man*, Vol. 56 (1956) pp. 136-139.

23. D. H. Gordon, 'The Early Use of Metals in India and Pakistan', *Journal of Royal Anthropological Institute* Vol. 80 (1950) pp. 56-57

24. E. Mackay, *Ancient Indus Civilization.*

25. Mortimer Wheeler, 'Harappa 1946 : The Defences and Cemetery R 37' *Ancient India* (1957) pp. 81-83; *Five Thousand Years of Pakistan* (London 1950) pp. 31; *The Indus Civilization* (Cambridge 1953) pp. 90-93.

26. W. A. Fairservis, *op. cit*; R. Heine-Geldern '*Op. cit*'.

It is conceivable that the Jhukar people, pushed by militant pressures in eastern and southern Afghanistan, moved through the Gomal pass to the Derajat or to the Zhob valley and to Loralai and thus to Sind. The Ghul ware also follows this distribution in general. Therefore, it may well be that the Gomal pass was the critical pass, when the invasions of the Indus valley took place."[27] Heine-Geldern describes the Aryan movement as follows : "Some kind of migration from south-western Iran or Transcaucasia reached India between 1200 and 1000 B.C. This migration passed through the region south-east of the Caspian sea, where its traces can be recognized at Tepe Hissar near Damghan and at Turang Tepe near Asterabad. It came from the very area, where historians place the bulk of the Indo-Aryan people at the time—15th—14th century B.C.—when some of its more adventurous groups, swarming out towards the south and the south-west, had acquired the mastery over the kingdom of Mitanni and parts of Syria. Therefore, it seems reasonable to assume that the migration in question was that of the Aryans from the Near-East to India. They may have been driven from their homes by a branch of that powerful ethnic movement, which starting from the Balkans or from the lower Danube, destroyed the Hittite kingdom around 1200".[28] The discovery of a "trunnion-celt" at Kurram points to the passing of the invaders along these routes. Thus the difference of opinion about the date and route of the Aryan invasion is based on the supposition that they came in one mass and one attempt. Let us examine it in some detail.

The ethnic connotation of the term *ārya* is not clear. The word *ārya* is derived from the root *ṛ* meaning 'to move'. It, therefore, signifies a nomad or a traveller. Some scholars hold that this term denotes a linguistic unit only. Hence it would be better if, instead of talking about the 'Aryan' invasion, we speak of the migration of specific tribes, speaking the languages of a group, which is called 'Aryan'. These tribes have been coming from time to time. In fact, the mountains of the north-west did not constitute a closed frontier, marked by political or ethnic limits. The routes and passes, piercing them, have

27. W. A. Fairservis, *Op. cit.*
28. Heine-Geldern, *Op. cit.*

been seeing the movements of peoples from time immemorial. Different tribes have been coming, going and mingling along them. About the seventeenth century or so a tribal grouping of Kassites, Sṛñjayas, Kṛvis, Turvaśas and the pressers of Soma Somakas (Haumavarga) moved along them and settled in the Gangetic basin near Kampil and Ahicchatra. They were followed by the Bharatas and a large number of other tribes including the Purus. The Bharatas and Purus merged in the Kurus, who dominated the western Gangetic valley with their seat at Hastināpura. A flood in the Gaṅgā compelled their king Nicakṣu to shift the capital from Hastināpura to Kauśāmbi. We have seen that period II at Hastināpura just below the flood-level is characterised by the painted grey ware. Hence it is obvious that this culture, marked by this painted grey ware, is associated with the Kurus. From this it follows that the culture of the ochre-coloured ware and the copper hoards, which preceded the painted grey-ware-culture, was connected with the Puru-Bharatas and the Pañcālas—the Keśins, Sṛñjayas, Kṛvis, Turvaśas and Somakas—who were settled in those region before the Kurus. As we shall see later, the Kurus were overthrown by another group of Irano-Scythian peoples, coming from the north-west. These people settled at some of the sites, destroyed by their predecessors. Harappa seems to have been sacked by these people. Then a hoar of earth accumulated on it, constituting the hiatus of 5 to 7 feet between Harappa proper and Cemetery H. The suggestion of Wheeler that Hariyūpiya, the scene of a battle between the Aryans and the non-Aryans, according to the *Ṛgveda*, seems to be plausible. But the victors, instead of settling there, passed on to the eastern regions, allowing a sheet of dust and earth to cover its ruins. Then a newly-arrived people made the mound its home. They made the black-on-red ware, having affinity to analogous ware at Kulli, found at Cemetery H. We propose to identify these people with the Irano-Scythian group of tribes, which brought about the fall of the Kuru kingdom of Hastināpura.

Iranian influences reached the Maheshwar-Navdatoli regions in western India also. There some pottery types like channel-spouted bowls, stemmed cups, vases with plattered mouth, high concave neck and bulging body etc. are compa-

rable to similar types in Iran. The people of Navdatoli lived in wattle-and-daub houses, oblong or circular in plan, domesticated animals, carried on fishing and agriculture and produced among other things wheat, rice, gram, peas, *mung*, *tiuda*, *kultya*, *till* etc. Besides the earthern goblets, dishes-in-stands, the copper pots, particularly wine-cups, suggest Iranian and West Asian ideas. According to Sankalia, the pits in the floors of the houses signify the sacrificial altars (*vedis*). Considering the striking parallelisms between the wares of this site and those of Iran, Sankalia holds that the people, associated with them, came from Iran.[29] It is likely that the same völkerwanderung of Irano-Scythian peoples, who put an end to the Kuru supremacy of the Gangetic region, carried a wing of those peoples to the south also.

Thus we observe that the ochre-coloured ware, painted grey ware, and bálck-on-red ware represent different tribal cultures, which came to northern India in cir 1700-1600, 1200-1100 and 900-800 B.C. respectively. We shall have occasion to discuss the advent of these tribes in detail later on in this book.

Let us now study the social and cultural consequences of the advent of these new tribes in the Panjab and the Gangetic valley.

3. *The Indra-Vṛtra myth.*

The Vedas, particularly the *Ṛgveda*, depicts a full picture of the conflicts and turmoils of the Sapta Sindhu region. Even a cursory perusal of the Ṛks reveals that the Ārya was hemmed in on all sides by powerful enemies. His activities, thoughts and prayers are concentrated on the extermination of his foes.[30] The rattle of the chariots and uproar of the horses din into his ears every moment.[31] He implores his god Indra

29. H. D. Sankalia, B. Subbarao and S. B. Deo, *Excavations at Maheshwar and Navdatoli* (Poona and Baroda 1958); *Indian Archaeology* (1957-58) pp. 29-33; *Ibid* (1958-59) pp. 30-31.

30. *Ṛgveda*, X, 159, 3 मम पुत्राः शत्रुहणः ; *Ibid* IX, 61, 23 सुवीरासो वयं जयेम ।

31. *Ibid* X, 103, 10 उद् वृत्रहन् वाजिनां वाजिनान्युद्रथानां जयतां यन्तु घोषाः ।

to join him in the battle and destroy his rivals.[32] He imbibes the fury and vigour of Indra to conquer his opponents.[33] He solicits the boon of being the enemy-killer and desires the honour of trampling his foes under foot.[34] This pervasive atmosphere of war, invasion and massacre broods over the Indra-Vṛtra myth, which is the dominant refrain of the *Ṛgveda*. Indra is the warrior and the hero, whose vajra thunders in the sky, tears the pall of clouds, shears the chains of mountains, quakes the mass of earth and smashes the hosts of enemies;[35] Vṛtra is the arch-enemy, the demon of drought and darkness, the master of charms and magic and the owner of forts and citadels. This antagonism of Indra and Vṛtra, representing the dualism of good and evil, finds expression in numerous imageries, which admit of various interpretations.

In Iran also this conception of the dualism of good and evil was predominant. The Vedic *Vṛtra* has its counterpart in the Avestan *Vṛthra*, these words being derived from the root *var*, meaning 'to resist', as shown by Benveniste and Renou.[36] The etymologies of this word, suggested by Yāska, are quite conjectural. His derivation of *vṛtra* from the *vṛ* (to cover), *vṛt* (to roll) or *vṛdh* (to grow) is uncertain.[37] The original sense of *vṛtra* is 'resistance'. In the *Avesta*, *Vṛthra* signifies 'resistance' in a defensive sense and is distinct from *ama* or the spirit of offence. The remover of resistance is *Vṛthragna*. He is the symbol of

32 *Ibid* I, 8, 3 इन्द्र त्वोतास आ वयं वज्रं घना ददीमहि ।
जयेम सं युधि स्पृधः ॥

33. *Atharvaveda*, VII, 93, 1 इन्द्रेण मन्युना वयमभिष्याम पृतन्यतः ।
घ्नन्तो वृत्राण्यप्रति ॥

34. *Ṛgveda* X, 166, 2 अहमस्मि सपत्नहेन्द्र इवारिष्टो अक्षतः ।
अधः सपत्ना मे पदोरिमे सर्वे अभिष्टिताः ॥

35. *Ibid* II, 92, 13
द्यावा चिदस्मै पृथिवी नमेते शुष्माच्चिदस्य पर्वता भयन्ते ।
यः सोमपा चिनितो वज्रबाहुर्यो वज्रहस्तः स जनास इन्द्रः ॥

36. E. Benveniste and Louis Renou, *Vṛtra et Vrthragna: Etude de mythologie indo-iranienne* pp. 68 ff.

37. *Nirukta* II, 5 तद्वृत्रोवृणोतेर्वा वर्ततेर्वा वर्धतेर्वा । यदवृणोत्तद्वृत्रस्य वृत्रत्वमिति विज्ञायते । यदवर्तत तद्वृत्रस्य वृत्रत्वमिति विज्ञायते । यदवर्धत तद्वृत्रस्य वृत्रत्वमिति विज्ञायते ।

the spirit of victory.[38] Later on he became one of the two dread beings, who march before the chariot of Mithra. In Sassanian times he became the favourite god Varharān. Many of the Sassanian monarchs were named after him. One Varharān ruled in Iran from 273 A.D. to 276 A.D., another Varharān ruled there from 276 A.D. to 293 A.D.; a third Varharān fought a civil war for the throne with his grand uncle Nerseh in 293 A.D. and a fourth Varharān occupied the Iranian throne from 388 A.D. to 399 A.D. In Pehlavi traditions *Vrthragna* (Verethraghna) or Varharān figured as the angel Bahram.[39] Analogous to this Iranian conception of *Vrthragna* is the Hellenistic *Artagnes*, Armenian *Vahagn*, Chorasmian *Arthagn* and Sogdian *Vasagn*. In the Avesta, however, this deity is not associated with Andra, the Iranian form of Indra. The word *Vrthragna* is abundantly used in the earlier strata of the *Avesta*, such as the *Sīrozāh*, the *Yaśts* and the *Āfrigans*, while the word Andra, occurring as a demonisation of the Vedic god Indra, figures only twice in a casual manner in the later parts of this scripture. It appears that the application of the epithet vṛtrahan to Indra was primarily the work of the Indo-Aryans. It was also they, who identified *Vṛtrahan* with the striker of the thunderbolt and the bringer of rain. In Iran there is not the faintest trace of this association. The rain god of Iranian mythology is *Tistar*[40] and he has no connection with Vrthraghna. Thus the Indo-Iranian dualism of 'resistance' and its 'remover', *Vrthra-Vrthragna*, has evolved into the Indo-Aryan dualism of *Vṛtra-Vṛtrahan*, which became part and parcel of the conception of the distinctive Vedic god Indra.

In India there were several schools of Vedic interpretation. Yāska enumerates the four principal schools as the naturalists (*nairukta*), historians (*aitihāsika*), ritualists (*yājñika*) and the mythologists (*ākhyānika* or *ākhyānavādinaḥ*). According to the first school, the Indra-Vṛtra myth is a figurative description of clouds, being pierced by thunder and lightning and pouring forth accumulated torrents of rain, according to the second,

38. Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism* p. 103 et seq.

39. I.J.S. Taraporewalla, 'Zoroastrianism', *Cultural Heritage of India* Vol. II p. 328.

40. Spiegel, *Arische Periode* p. 197.

it is the account of the killing of an Asura related to Tvaṣṭṛ,[41] according to the third, it represents a peculiar ritualistic aspect of the hymns, which possess an inherent divine potentiality, irrespective of their linguistic significations[42], and, according to the fourth, it is merely a myth, handed down by ancient tradition. Yāska was a follower of the nairukta school and Sāyaṇa also subscribed to the same.[43] In modern times Roth, Oldenberg Macdonell, Perry, Bloomfield, Muir, Magoun and a host of other scholars have associated themselves with this school and interpreted the Indra-Vṛtra myth in terms of the phenomenon of the thunderstorm, characterised by the piercing of clouds by lightning and the consequent coming of rain.[44]

The historical or *aitihāsika* view of the Indra-Vṛtra myth is gaining in importance as a result of recent researches in the history, culture, linguistics and archaeology of the Aryan people. That this view loomed large in the eyes of ancient commentators is manifest from the fact that in many Ṛks Sāyaṇa takes the word vṛtra to denote an enemy in general and does not refer

41. *Nirukta* II, 5 तत्को वृत्रो मेघ इति नैरुक्तास्त्वाष्ट्रोऽसुर इत्यैतिहासिका अपां च ज्योतिषश्च मिश्रीभावकर्मणो वर्षकर्म जायते तत्रोपमार्थेन युद्धवर्णा भवन्त्यहिवत्तु खलु मंत्रवर्णा ब्राह्मणवादाश्च ।

42. *Nirukta* I, 15 अनर्थका हि मंत्राः *Āśvalāyana śrautasūtra* I, 1, 12 मंत्राश्च कर्मकरणाः

Pūrvamīmāṁsā I, 2, 1 आम्नायस्य क्रियार्थत्वात्

43. *Ṛgveda* III, 33, 6

इन्द्रो अस्मा अरदद्वज्रबाहुरपाहन्वृत्रं परिधिं नदीनाम् Sāyaṇa's comment: नदीरस्मानरदत् रदतिःखनति कर्मा । अखनत् कथमखनत् । उच्यते नदीनां शब्दकरिणीनामपां परिधिं परितो निहितमुदकमन्तः कृत्वा । परितो वर्तमानामित्यर्थः । तादृशं वृत्रं वृणोत्याकाशमिति वृत्रो मेघः । तं मेघमपाहन् जघान । तस्मिन् हत आपः पतिताः ताभिर्गच्छन्तीभिर्वयं खाताः । एवं मेघहननद्वारेण अखनत् ।

Ṛgveda II, 12, 3 यो हत्वाहिमरिणात्सप्तसिन्धून् यो गा उदाजदपधा बलस्य ।

Sāyaṇa's comment

यः अहिं मेघं हत्वा मेघहननं कृत्वा सप्त सर्पणशीलाः सिन्धून् स्यन्दनशीला अपः अरिणात् प्रैरयत् ।

44. G. Roth, *St. Petersberg Wörterbuch* s.v. Indra, H. Oldenberg, *Religion des Veda*, pp. 29, 51, 134, A. A. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology* p. 54, E. D. Perry 'Indra in the Ṛgveda', *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. II p. 117, Bloomfield, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 15 p. 143, Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts V*, p. 95; Magoun, *The Early Religion*, p. 106.

to its sense of cloud, as he usually does.[45] In these Ṛks the use of the word vṛtra in plural shows that it is a general designation of a class of people rather than the proper name of any particular person. As Prof. Macdonell writes, "the use of vṛtra in the plural, as it is then often neuter, can hardly be derived from a generalisation of the proper name vṛtra, but must be based on an earlier meaning, such as 'obstruction', then 'obstructor.'"[46] Thus the Vṛtras mean the enemies of the Āryas. But in some Ṛks the Vṛtras are expressly distinguished from the generality of enemies, which comprises Dāsas or Dasyus as well as Āryas. In *Ṛgveda* VII, 83, 1, [47] for instance, the Vṛtras are distinctly mentioned along with Dāsas and Āryas. Here, too, Sāyaṇa equates the word *vṛtra* with *śatru*[48] or enemy, which is evidently untenable in view of the aforesaid context of this passage. Vṛtra, here, should be taken to denote a particular class of people, distinct from the generality of the Āryas and Dasyus. Before ascertaining the precise character and historical connotation of Vṛtra let us examine the nature and significance of Indra.

45. (i) *Ṛgveda* VI, 56, 2 उत घा स रथीतमः सख्या सत्पतिर्युजा इन्द्रो वृत्राणि जिघ्नते ॥

Sāyaṇa's comment: शत्रूणां हन्तृत्वेन प्रसिद्धस्तादृशः रथीतमः अतिशयेन रथी महारथः सत्पतिः सतां पालयिता एवंगुण इन्द्रः सख्या मित्रभूतेन पूष्णा युजा सहायभूतेन युक्तः सन्वृत्राणि शत्रून् जिघ्नते हन्ति ।

(ii) *Ṛgveda* VI, 57, 3 अजा अन्यस्य वह्नयो हरी अन्यस्य संभृताः । ताभ्यां वृत्राणि जिघ्नते ॥

Sāyaṇa's comment: स चेन्द्रस्ताभ्यां वृत्राणि शत्रून् जिघ्नते हन्ति ।

(iii) *Ṛgveda* VII, 83, 9 वृत्राण्यन्यः समिथेषु जिघ्नते व्रतान्यन्यो अभिरक्षते सदा ।

Sāyaṇa's comment: हे इन्द्रावरुणौ युवयोरन्य एक इन्द्रः वृत्राणि शत्रून् समिथेषु संग्रामेषु जिघ्नते हन्ति ।

46. *A.A.* Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 159.

47. *Ṛgveda* VII, 83, 1 दासा च वृत्रा हतमार्याणि च सुदासमिन्द्रावरुणावसावतम्

In this Ṛk it is noteworthy that the word *vṛtra* is used in masculine and *ārya* is used in neuter. As a matter of fact, gender has no significance in such cases in Vedic usage.

48. Sāyaṇa's comment : हे इन्द्रावरुणौ युवां दासा दासानि उपेक्षयितॄणि च वृत्रा वृत्राणि आवरकानि शत्रुजातानि आर्याणि च कर्मानुष्ठानपराणि च शत्रुजातानि हतं हिंस्तम् ।

4. *Indra, the symbol of the Āryans.*

Indra dominates the *Ṛgveda*. Out of 1028 *sūktas* about 250 are devoted to his glorification and a large number of the rest are meant for his praise and propitiation in association with other gods. His *nairukta* interpretation has assumed several forms and betrays diverse tendencies in modern times. Reference has been made above to his identification with the phenomenon of thunderstorm. This view is often stretched to conceive of Indra as the god of the bright vault of heaven analogous to Jupiter Pluvius.[49] As a logical corollary of this view, Indra is taken to be the chief solar deity.[50] His role as the conqueror of the demon of winter at the advent of spring and the releaser of the streams from the congealed mass of glaciers is emphasized by Hillebrandt. His achievement of overpowering the demon of darkness, who dominates the Arctic regions for months together, is stressed by Tilak and Apte.[51] Barring the significance of light-giving sun in the Arctic regions, the daily feat of the conquest of darkness by the sun is no less vital and impressive.[52] Thus Indra is looked upon as the deity of universal light and energy or the symbol of the triumph of *tejas* over *tamas*. Astronomically speaking, he is the sun, fighting with the eclipse-demon[53] or is the god of the summer solstice.[54] Another view of Indra is that he is a fertility god, associated with rich harvests.[55] All these views are fragmentary, segmental and one-sided. Hopkins has summed up these views as follows : "Indra has been identified with 'storm', with the 'sky', with the 'year', also with the 'sun' and with 'fire' in general. But if he be taken, as he is found in the hymns, it will be noticed at once that he is too 'stormy' to be the sun, too 'luminous' to be the

49. G. Roth, *Zellers Theologisches Jahrbuch* (1846) p. 352, C. Lassen, *Indische Altertumskunde* I p. 893 Max Müller *Letters on Science of Language* II, 470, Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts* V, 77.

50. Max Müller, *Chips from a German Workshop* II p. 91.

51. Hillebrandt, *Vedische Mythologie II* pp. 155, 344.

52. B. G. Tilak, *Arctic Home in the Vedas* p. 233 V. M. Apte, 'The Name Indra—an Etymological Investigation' *Journal of the Bombay University* XIX, pp. 13-18.

53. Max Müller, *Contribution to the Science of Mythology* I pp. 141-142.

54. R. Shamasastri, 'Vedic Gods', *B.C. Law Volume Vol. I* pp. 277-281.

55. P. C. Sengupta, 'When Indra became Maghavan,' *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. IV p. 445 ff.

56. E.W. Hopkins, *Religions of India* p. 91.

storm, too near to the phenomena of the monsoon to be the 'year' or the 'sky', too 'rainy' to be fire, too alien from every one thing to be any one thing".[57]

As a matter of fact, the human features in Indra's personality are so realistic and life-like that it is difficult to confuse them with the vague naturalistic elements, that are often associated with him. His body, head, arms and hands are clearly mentioned.[58] His gigantic frame, mighty neck and brawny back are often referred to. He has handsome nose, lips and cheeks.[59] His complexion is golden[60] and his hair and beard are tawny.[61] He agitates his jaws,[62] puffs out his beautiful lips[63] and shakes off the drops of soma from his moustache.[64] His parents are referred to[65] and his wife is mentioned.[66] His intemperate fondness for soma is jeered at[67] and his amorous pursuits are also adverted to. He is an expert in female lore,[68] particularly interested in the children of unmarried girls.[69] He allows himself to be enticed away by an Asura woman and is said to have been enamoured of a Dānavī named Viliṣṭenga and gone to live among the Asuras on that account.[70] His exhaustion after excessive sensual indulgence is said to have been removed by the drug of a monkey.[71] He regained his virility by using that medicine. Surrounded by the Maruts, he rolls his brilliant chariot,[72] launches the terrible vajra[73] decimates his foes and destroys their citadels,[74] conquers their

57. F. W. Hopkins, op. cit. *American Oriental Society* Vol. 36 pp. 242 ff.
58. *Ṛgveda* VI, 47, 8 ऋष्वा त इन्द्र स्थविरस्य बाहू । Vide also II, 16, 2.
59. *Ibid* I, 29, 2; II, 12, 6; III, 36, 10; VI, 17, 2.
60. *Ibid.* I, 7, 2.
61. *Ibid.* X, 96, 5-8; X, 23, 4.
62. *Ibid.* VIII, 65, 10.
63. *Ibid.* III, 32, 1.
64. II, 11, 17.
65. *Ibid* IV, 18-1-2.
66. *Ibid.* III, 53, 6.
67. *Ibid.* V, 29, 7; X, 119 (*labasūkta*).
68. *Ibid.* VIII, 33, 17.
69. *Ibid.* II, 15, 7.
70. *Atharvaveda* VII, 38, 2.
71. *Ṛgveda* X, 86 (*Vṛṣākapisūkta*).
72. *Ṛgveda* VI, 56, 2.
73. *Ibid.* III, 33, 6; I, 80, 20; I, 101, 5; IV, 26, 2.
74. *Ibid* I, 51, 5; IV, 16, 13.

country and dispenses largesse with both hands.[75] On the basis of these intensely human and individual traits, Dandekar holds "that Indra must have been primarily a human-hero, indeed, essentially a historical personality, that, in course of time, he must have been elevated to the position, first, of a national war-god, and, then, of the supreme god and, that, later on, naturalistic or cosmic elements must have been surperimposed on his personality.[76] Similarly, Gordon Childe observes that in the concept of Indra "incidentally we see the earthly princes, whom Indra copies, generous to bards, bold to smite the dark-skinned Dasyus, lovers of strong drink, dicing and horse-racing, in a word, with all the characteristics of a Teutonic hero in the Norse epic."[77] In the description of the wars of Indra, preserved in the *Ṛgveda*, Prof. Childe sees" a picture of a young and vigorous race, fresh from the mountains, taking possession of the torrid plains of northern India."[78]

The name of Indra has its analogues in several other Indo-European languages. Ludwig connects it with the Slavonic *jedrŭ* (impetuous), Bezzenberger equates it with the European words *giant* and *géant* (an enormous being)[79], Kretschmer derives it from the Hittite *innar* signifying 'might'[80] and Oldenberg holds that "Indra, the strongest of the Vedic divinities, who, hurling his weapon slays the dragon and liberates the imprisoned waters, is truly the same god as Thor in the Edda, the dragon-fighter, the hammer-hurler"[81] Of special significance is the occurrenee of the name of Indra among the gods, cited in a treaty, dated 1350 B. C., made between the Hittite king Suppiluliuma and the Mitanni king Mattiwaza, found on a tablet, unearthed at Boghaz-kui.[82] Equally important is the discovery of the name *Indarota* (Ved. Indrota) on the

75. *Ibid* II, 19, 4; I, 30, 1; VII, 27, 3.

76. R. N. Dandekar 'Vṛtrahā Indra', *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* Vol. XXI (1950) p, 25.

77. V. Gordon Childe, *The Aryans* p. 30.

78. *Ibid* p. 31; Stuart Piggott, *Prehistoric India*, p. 260.

79. Hillebrandt. *Vedische Mythologie*, op. cit.

80. Baṭakṛṣṇa Ghosh, 'Problems of Indian Linguistics', *B. M. Barua Commemoration Volume* (Indian Culture Vol. XV (1949) p. 153.

81. Hermann Oldenberg, *Ancient India, its Language and Religions* p. 60.

82. *Cambridge History of India I* p. 72; *Cambridge Ancient History II* p. 13.

cuneiform tablets of kings, found in the Middle and Near East.[83] It has been held that the prevalence of this name of Vedic affinity in these regions was the result of the advent of a section of the Indo-European peoples about 1500 B. C. Burrow thinks that this Aryan invasion of the Middle East came from the northern regions, that is, from the Indo-European *urheimat* in South Russia via the Caucasus.[84] This theory implies that the stock, from which an offshoot came to the Middle-East, knew and venerated Indra. But it is noteworthy that in the Iranian branch of this race Indra as a god is conspicuous by absence. This shows that the áscendency of Indra dates from a period, when the Iranians had branched off from the parent stock and started developing their own mythology after the common racial notions. It is now mostly believed that the separation of the Iranians from the main body of Indo-European migrants took place in the Chorasmian and Oxus regions.[85] This territory is believed to be the secondary eastern *urheimat* of the Aryan people after their movement from their primary *urheimat* somewhere in the steppes between the Altai and the Urals, extending perhaps from Kirghizstan to South Russia.[86] After the migration of the Iranians, the remaining body split up into two branches, one moved to the south-east and reached India and the other wandered in the west, appeared at the head of a confederation of tribes and became known as Mitanni. It was in this period that the concept of Indra as a racial hero and a tribal war-god crystallised by incorporating the early Indo-European ideas of 'might', 'valour', 'enormity' and 'impetuosity', that are couched in the various words, cited above. That is how we find the Indra-cult in the Middle East in a form, akin to that of the Vedic Aryans and different from the notions of the Avestan Iranians. This also explains why the forms of this word current in these regions, are more archaic than in the Vedas, though they bear a greater affinity to

83. T. Burrow, *The Sanskrit Language* p. 27.

84. *Ibid* p. 30.

85. *Ibid* p. 3; R.N. Dandekar, 'The Antecedents and the Early Beginnings of the Vedic Period, *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* (Tenth Session, Bombay) p. 40.

86. Brandenstein, *Die erste indogermanische Wanderung*, summarised by Baṭakṛṣṇa Ghosh, 'The Aryan Problem', *The Vedic Age* pp. 210-211. Burrow prefers the view that South Russia was the *urheimat*.

them than to any other branch of the Indo-European language. The theory that these people migrated to the Middle East from India, though supported by authorities like Jacobi, Winternitz and Pargiter,[87] is not countenanced by linguistic considerations e.g. the occurrence of the spirant 'z', the change of *rt* into *art*, the assimilation of *pt* to *tt* etc.

According to Indian traditions, Indra belongs to a later and younger generation of gods. In the *Taittirīya Samhitā* (II, 3, 4, 2) Indra is described as *devānām anujāvara*. The *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* (II, 2, 3, 3; II, 2, 7, 2) also states that Prajāpati created all gods except Indra and that he was generated later. These traditions refer to the later development of the cult and concept of Indra. It is held that the pristine Indo-Iranian religion centred round the conception of Asura Varuṇa, the protector of the system of the cosmos.[88] The followers of this religion were the first to come and settle into India. Later on a second wave of immigrants swept in, carrying the Indra-cult on its crest and wiping out the adherents of Asura Varuṇa. This explains why Indra is implored to smite the Dāsas as well as the Āryas, who are arrayed as enemies. This fact of the plurality of Aryan settlements in India is borne out by linguistic data. It is well-known that certain features of the Kafiri languages of the North-West show significant divergences fro the Indo-Aryan speech. They agree with Iranian in the treatment of the two palatal series, e.g. *zim* 'snow: Skt. *hima*; *ja* 'kill : Skt. *han*, preserve the very archaic '*c*' which later on became *ś*, e. g. *cuna* 'dog', *duc* 'ten' and do not cerebralise 's' after 'u', as the Vedic does.[89] These traits show that these languages were brought by an earlier band of invaders, which was later overpowered and driven into the recesses of mountains by new immigrants, who spoke an altered form of language.

The substance of the above discussion is that Indra is a symbol of a later wave of Aryan invaders and immigrants

87. H. Jacobi, 'On the Antiquity of Vedic Culture', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1909) pp. 721-26; M. Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature* Vol. I p. 306 F. E. Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Traditions* p. 302.

88. R.N. Dandekar, 'Asura Varuṇa', *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* Vol. XXI (1940) pp. 157-191.

89. T. Burrow, *The Sanskrit Language* p. 32.

which came into India, on one hand, and reached the Middle East, on the other. It was these Aryans, who put an end to the culture maturing in the Panjab.

5. *Vṛtra, the symbol of the Dasyus and Asuras.*

We have seen above that Vṛtra signifies the enemies of Indra. In order to ascertain the race and nationality of the enemies, designated by this Indo-Iranian word Vṛtra, meaning 'obstruction' and 'resistance', we have to examine those passages of the *Ṛgveda*, in which the synonym Dasyu is used for Vṛtra. In *Ṛgveda* (I,100, 12).[90] Indra is called *Dasyuhan*, the killer of Dasyu, in place of *Vṛtrahan*, the killer of Vrtra, and in *Ṛgveda* (I, 51,5)[91], the combat of Indra is said to have resulted in *Dasyuhatyā*. In the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (I, 6, 3, 13) Vṛtra is expressly called a Dasyu. While Indra was moving in pursuit of Vṛtra, he addressed Agni and Soma "Ye belong to me and I belong to you. Why then do ye support that Dasyu against me ? Come over to me."[92] The Dasyus are described as noseless[93] (*anās*, *viśiśipra*), as they had snubbed noses, which contrasted with the long and prominent noses of the Āryas,[94] and Vṛtra is also called broken-nosed (*rujānās*). This shows that the Vṛtras were Dasyus and that they had ethnic affinities with the snub-nosed people, who constituted a large part of the population of the Panjab. As Macdonell and Keith have observed : "that the Dasvus were real people is shown by the epithet '*anās*' applied to them in one passage of the *Ṛgveda* V. 29, 10. The sense of this word is not absolutely certain.

90. यद्वा दिविपार्ये सुष्विमिन्द्र वृत्रहत्येऽवसि शूरसातौ ।
यद्वा दक्षस्य बिभ्युषो अबिभ्यदरन्धयः शर्धत इन्द्र दस्यून् ॥

91. स वज्रभृद् दस्युहा भीम उग्र सहस्रचेताः शतनीथ ऋभ्वा ।
त्वं पिप्रोर्नृमणः प्रारुजः पुरः प्र ऋजिश्वानं दस्युहत्येष्वाविथ ॥

92. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* translated by Julius Eggeling (*Sacred Books of the East* Vol. XII) p. 166.

93. *Ṛgveda* V, 29, 10 अनासो दस्यूंरमृणो वधेन निदुर्योण आवृणङ् मृध्रवाचः ।

94. *Ṛgveda* II, 12, 6 युक्तग्राव्णो योऽविता सुशिप्रः सुतसोमस्य स जनास इन्द्रः ।

The Aśvins are called Nāsatyas, which Yāska explains as *Nāsikāprabhavāḥ* indicating their prominent nasality.

The pada text and Sāyaṇa both take it to mean without face (*an-ās*), but the other rendering noseless (*a-nās*) is quite possible and would accord well with the flat-nosed aboriginals of the Dravidian type, whose language still persists among the Brahuis, who are found in the North-West. This interpretation would receive some support from Vṛtra's being called 'broken-nosed', if this were the correct explanation of the obscure word (*rujā-nās*)."[95]

The word *dasyu* signified the aboriginal peoples, who inhabited the vast stretch of land from the Caspian Sea to the fringes of India. Meyer and Hillebrandt identified the Dasyus with the Dahae, "a tribe nearly akin to the Iranians in the Kirghiz-Turkman steppe, which extends from the Caspian Sea beyond the Jaxartes, now Syr Darya"[96] The Dasyus are also frequently mentioned in Avestan literature and Achaemenian inscriptions as Dainyu, Dakhyu and Dapyu. But no odium or bad sense is attached to this word in Iranian literature and inscriptions. About the use and meaning of the word *dasyu* in Zoroastrian books Prof. Jahangir S. Tevadia observes; "the suggestion that the original meaning of this term (*dasyu*) was enemy, from which was developed 'enemy people' or 'enemy country' is not convincing, for in such a case the phrase '*aryanam, dahyunam*' 'of the countries or peoples of the Āryas' would be very strange in the mouth of the Avestic adorers. I think that the word meant people or country without any bad connotation originally, but it got associated with this odium, when applied to the conquered people or natives by Vedic tribes."[97] This sense of the word *dasyu* is also preserved in the inscriptions of the Achaemenian emperors of Iran. There it denotes countries or peoples like *Pārs* or Persia and *Māda* or Media.[98] In modern Persian this word *dahyu* survives as *dih* and means

95. A. A. Macdonell and A. B. Keith, *Vedic Index*, Vol. I p. 347.

96. E. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, Vol I section 425 page 525; Hillebrandt, *Vedische Mythologie* I pp. 94-116.

97. *Viśvabhāratī Quarterly* Dec. 1940.

98. Sukumar Sen, *Old Persian Inscriptions* p. 12 'Pasāva dranga dahyuvā vasaiyabavā utā pārsaily utā mādaiy utā aniyāxuvā Dahyuśuvā'. But in the Persepolis inscription of Xerxex *Dahyu* particularly signifies the Dahae of Transcaspiana. According to R. G. Kent, this name survived in Dahistan of medieval times, which was situated to the east of the Caspian Sea (Roland G. Kent, *Language* Vol. XII p. 298).

a 'village'. From modern Persian this word has entered in the vernaculars of North India in its plural form *dehat* meaning "countryside."

Analogous to the word *dasyu* is the word *dāsa*. This word has entered into the Finno-Ugrian languages as a result of the contact of their speakers with the Indo-Iranians. In the Vogul speech, belonging to this group, the word *dāsa* has become *tās* meaning 'stranger'.[99] Thus it is clear that the word *dāsa-dasyu* existed in the Indo-Iranian language in an early period and signified 'people'. When these Indo-European tribes came into contact with other tribes, they called them by this name. In course of time, this word became conventionalised in the sense of a stranger or foreigner. Some tribes like the Dahas retained this name for good. Later on, the Āryas transferred this name to the aboriginal people of India, whom they encountered in this country. The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (VII, 18) plainly and distinctly understands by the word *dasyu*, the aboriginal tribes, among which it includes the Āndhras, Puṇḍras, Śabaras, Pulindas and Muṭibās. This *Brāhmaṇa* refers to the curse of Viśvāmitra on his disobedient sons that they would become of low castes such as the Āndhras, Śabaras etc., who, in consequence, became the Dasyus. Keith has translated this passage as follows :

"Viśvāmitra had a hundred and one sons, fifty older than Madhuchandas, fifty younger. (He loved the younger sons). Those, that were older, did not think this right. Them he cursed saying, 'your offspring shall inherit the ends of the earth.' These are the (people) the Āndhras, Puṇḍras, Śabaras, Pulindas and Muṭibās, who live in large number beyond the borders; most of the Dasyus are the descendants of Viśvāmitra."[100]

Thus it is clear that by *dasyu* the Āryas meant the people, whom they fought and vanquished in India. The physiology, religion and culture of these Dasyus are hinted at in several passages of the *Ṛgveda*. They are described as flat-nosed,[101] dark-skinned[102]

99. T. Burrow, *The Sanskrit Language* p. 25
100. A. B. Keith, *Ṛgveda Brāhmaṇas* (Harvard Oriental Series) p. 307.
101 *Ṛgveda* V, 29, 10, *Op. cit.*
102. *Ṛgveda* I, 130, 8 इन्द्रः समस्तु यजमानमार्यं ...मनवे शासदव्रतान् त्वचं कृष्णामरन्धयत् ; *Ibid* II, 20, 7 स वृत्रहा इन्द्रः कृष्णयोनीः पुरन्दरो दासीरैरयत्; *Ibid* II, 12, 4 यो दासं वर्णमधरं गुहाकः

and phallus-worshipping[103] people, who are irreligious[104] and devoid of rites[105] in the eyes of the Āryas.

The substance of the above discussion is that *dasyu* is a word of Indo-Iranian language like *vṛtra*, which was later on used to denote the people of India, whom the Āryas killed in tens of thousands. In *Ṛgveda* (IV, 30, 15)[106] Indra is said to have massacred thirty thousand Dasyus and in *Ṛgveda* (II, 13, 8, 9)[107] he is reported to have captured one thousand Dasyus. Thus the onset of the Āryas blazed a trail of bloodshed and devastation.

The Asuras were also prominent in the pre-Aryan popu lation of India. In the *Ṛgveda* Vṛtra is often described as the 'shaker of the world' and the epithet' '*dodhataḥ*' is applied to him. In these passages Śāyaṇa interprets Vṛtra as Asura.[108] In some other passages the word *vṛtra* is used as a title of the Asura Śambara. In *Ṛgveda* II, 12, 11 Śambara is described as *ahi*[109] or serpent, which is, as we shall presently see, a famous

103. *Ibid* VII, 21, 5 स: शर्धदर्यो विषुणस्य जन्तोर्मा शिश्नदेवा अपि गुर्ऋतं न: *Ibid* X, 99, 3 स वाजं यातापदुष्पदा यन्त्स्वर्षा ता परिषदत्सनिष्यन् । अनर्वा यच्छतदुरस्य वेदो घ्नञ्छिश्नदेवाँ अभिवर्पसाभूत ॥

104. *Ibid* I, 51, 1 विजानीह्यार्यान् ये च दस्यवो बर्हिष्मते रन्धया शासदव्रतान्, IX, 41, 2 साव्हांसो दस्युमव्रतम् ।

105. *Ibid* X, 22, 8 अकर्मा दस्युरस्मि नो अमन्तुरन्यव्रतो अमानुष: ।
त्वं तस्यामित्रहन् वधर्दासस्य दम्भय ।

106. उत् दासस्य वर्चिन: सहस्राणि षडावधी: ।
अधि पञ्च प्रधीरिव ॥

107. शतं वा यस्य दश साकमाद्य एकस्य श्रुष्टौ यद्ध चोदमाविथ ।
अरज्जौ दस्यून् त्समुनब्दभीतये सुप्राव्यो अभव: सास्युक्थ्य: ॥

108. (i) *Ṛgveda* II, 21, 4 अनानुदो वृषभो दोधत: ।
Sāyaṇa's comment; दोधत: दुधिर्हिंसाकर्मा हिंसकस्यासुरस्य हन्ता
(ii) *Ṛgveda* VII, 6, 6 विचिद् वृत्रस्य दोधतो वज्रेण शतपर्वणा शिरो बिभेद वृष्णिना ।
Sāyaṇa's comment; वृत्रस्य चिदावरकस्याधिदोधत: अत्यर्थं जगत्कम्पयतोऽसुरस्य

109. *Ṛgoeda* II, 12, 11 य: शम्बरं पर्वतेषु क्षियन्तं चत्वारिंश्यां शरद्यन्वविन्दत् । ओजायमानं योऽहिं जघान दानुं शयानं स जनास इन्द्र: ॥
Sāyaṇa's comment : बलमाचरन्तमहिमाहन्तारं दानुं दानवं शम्बरमसुरं जघान हतवान् स इन्द्रो

epithet of Vṛtra. "Śambara is employed", as Prof. Roth writes, "at a later date to designate an enemy in general and in particular an enemy of Indra, Vṛtra.........In the passages, which speak of Divodāsa, mention is made of his deliverance by the aid of the gods from the oppressor Śambara."[110] In epic literature also Vṛtra figures as an Asura or Vṛtrāsura.[111]

In early Indian literature the word *asura* does not mean an evil being or enemy in general; it signifies a distinct and particular people having their own culture, religion, literature, science and language. The religion of the Asuras is described as consisting of charms, spells, exorcisms or māyā and kṛtyā.[112] Their magic is very often referred to in the Vedas. In the *Atharvaveda* in a hymn for curing penial debility, a person tied with rope is described as demonstrating the feat of Asura magic by expanding his body and changing his shapes like Proteus.[113] The wisdom of the Asuras is famous in the Vedas. In the *Atharvaveda*, Āsurīmedhā or wisdom of the Asuras is put on a par with the wisdom of the Ṛbbus and Ṛṣis.[114] Āsurīvidyā or Āsurī science is also frequently mentioned in the Sūtras[115] and the Vedas. The Asuras are described as highly proficient in the techniques and working of iron (*ayojālāḥ*). Their characteristic feature is said to be the iron paraphernalia, that they possessed.[116] Like their magic, their language possessed an individuality of its own and is noticed as such in Indian

110. G. Roth, *Über Litteratur und Geschichte des Vedas* p. 116.

111. *Mahābhārata* V, 10, 19

ऋषिवाक्यं निशम्याथ स वृत्रः सुमहाबलः ।
उवाच तांस्तदा सर्वान् प्रणम्य शिरसासुरः ॥

112. *Atharvaveda* VIII. 3, 5, 9 याः कृत्या आसुरीः
Ṛgveda X, 124, 5; *Ibid* X, 138, 3

113. *Atharvaveda*, 6, 72, 1

यथासितः प्रथयते वशां अनु वपूंषि कृण्वन्नसुरस्य मायया ।
एवं ते शपः सहसायमर्कोऽङ्गेनाङ्गं संसमकं कृणोतु ॥

114. *Atharvaveda* VI, 11, 108.3

यां मेधामृभवो विदुर्यां मेधामसुरा विदुः ।
ऋषयो भद्रा मेधां यां विदुस्तां मय्यावेशयामसि ।

115. *Āśvalāyana-Śrauta-Sūtra*, X, 7, 7,

116. *Atharvaveda*, XIX, 7, 66,1

अयोजाला असुरा मायिनोऽयस्मयैः पाशैरङ्किनो ये चरन्ति ।

It is noteworthy that the modern tribe of Asurs in Chota Nagpur plateau are very good iron-smelters.

literature.[117] Their marital custom of paying the bride's price is mentioned in Indian law-books.[118] Their practice of adorning dead bodies, which was also prevalent among the Egyptians, is also mentioned in the *Chhāndogya Upaniṣad* (VIII, 8, 5) and their custom of depositing them in closed cemeteries is referred to in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (XIII, 8). Their strategy of total-war, which consisted in robbing lands, goods, sons, wives etc. is implied in the conception of *Āsuravijaya*, set forth in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya (XII, 1). Their priests are referred to in Brāhmaṇa sacerdotal books. The *Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra*[119] speaks of the Āsurāyaṇa branch of the Kaśyapa gotra. In the lists of Brāhmaṇa teachers, given at the end of the tenth book of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* and the sixth chapter of the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, we come across the names of Asuri, Āsurāyaṇa and Prāśniputra Āsurivāsuri, which are reminiscent of Asura origins. Thus it is certain that the Asuras were a people having their own culture rather than a class of mythical demons.

The Asuras have been identified with the Assyrians with fair certainty.[120] The Assyrian monarchs attached the title (असुर) 'asura' or 'assura' to their names, as is known from such names as Assur-Bani-Pal, Assur-Nazir-Pal etc., found in Assyrian historical records. The greatest god of the Assyrians was 'Assur' and the city, in which the greatest temple of 'Assur' was situated, was also known as 'Assur'. These Assyrians rose to great eminence after the fall of Babylon and spread their sway over a large part of western Asia. Their

117. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* III, 2, 1, 18-24 असुर्या हैषा वाक् *Pātañjala Mahābhāṣya* (Kielhorn's edition) Vol. I p. 2.

हेलयो हेलय इति कुर्वन्तः पराबभूवुः । तस्माद् ब्राह्मणेन न म्लेच्छितवै नापभाषितवै । म्लेच्छो ह वा एष यदपशब्दः । म्लेच्छा मा भूमेत्यध्येयं व्याकरणम्

In this passage 'helaya-helaya', corresponding to '*helavo-helavo*' of *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (III, 2, 1, 24) is a Semetic word, whose forms are Hebrew '*eloah*', Babylonian-Assyrian *ilu-illu*, Phoenician *el*, Arabic *ilāh*. V. S. Agrawala, 'Some Foreign Words in Ancient Sanskrit Literature', *Indian Historical Quarterly* vol. XXVII (1951) p. 4. When Christ was going to be crucified he is said to have uttered 'eli *eli lima sabaqtani*'.

118. *Āpastambīya-Dharma-Sūtra* V, 12-1

शक्तिविषयेण द्रव्याणि दत्त्वा वहेरन् स आसुरः

119. *Baudhāyana-Dharma Sūtra* (*Bibliothica Indica* Edition) Vol. III p. 450

120. R. G. Bhandarkar, 'The Aryans in the land of the Assurs' *Collected Works* vol I pp. 94-110.

inroads and expeditions reached up to Iran and India. Tilgath-Pilesar I annexed the Median Hills and Queen Semiramis is known in legends to have led an expedition in north-western India.[121] The expansion of the Assyrians resulted in the sprinkling of Assyrian peoples in India. So far as the nomenclature 'asura' is concerned, it is noteworthy that the Aryans came into contact with the Semetic peoples and cultures of the Middle East in very early times in their Urheimat. The Semetic elements in their culture, e. g. the use of the axe (Skt *paraśu*=Assyrian *pilakku*), the technique of copper (IE *rondhos*=Sumerian *urud*), the vogue of the war-chariot (IA *marya*=Sumerian *mar*)[122] and some other words (*Atharvaveda* I, 25, 2-3 *hṛūḍu*=Semetic *haruḍu*) point to these contacts.[123]

121. Arrian, *Indika* I, 3; *Anabasis* VI, 24, 2-3 Strabo, *Geography* XV, 1, 6.

122. Eduard Meyer's view that the word '*marya*' is of Indo-European origin has now been refuted by Sydney Smith (*The Antiquaries Journal* Vol. XIX p. 43) and D. J. Weisman (*The Alālākh Tablets* pp. 9-10), who hold that this is a Semetic word derived from Sumerian '*mar*' meaning a vehicle. *Maryannu* means one, who is entitled to the privilege of riding in a chariot i, e. an aristocrat.

123. Such other words are : (1) Arabic *ardun* (earth), German *erde* English, *earth*, sanskrit, *adri*; (2) Hebrew, *tab* (good) Sanskrit *tabuvā*, Persian *tobāh*; (3) Arabic *karnun* (horn) Latin *cornu*. Bedrich Hrozny, *Histoire de l'Asie Antérieure* p. 82. Some Vedic names, e. g. Apiśala, Kavaṣa-Ailūsh, occurring in the Śānkhāyana and Aitareya Brāhmaṇas, are also said to be of Sumerian origin. Some Vedic words are alleged to have been found in the Assyrian records of the library of Assur-bani-pal (R. G. Harshe, 'Vedic Names in Assyrian Records' *Adyar Library Bulletin* (May 1957) Vol. XXI parts 1—2) R. G. Harse has shown that many Vedic tribal names are the words of ancient Iraq. According to him, *vṛka* is based on *Warak* or *Uruk* and *Bavri* on Babylon. The name *Paijavana*, associated with Sudās, is connected with Penjivan in north-eastern Iraq and that of the Pulastis with Palestine. Of the sons of Pulaha Kardama is associated with the Delta of the Nile. He equates the name of *Rṣabha* with the Phoenician god Reshef, whose bronze statue has been found in Cyprus, and that of *Agastya*, whose surnames are Māna and Mandārya, with the Median tribes bearing analogous names. He has shown that Arāda-Dātreya has a name beginning with a word Arād found in many cuneiform tablets of the Kouyunjik Collection at the British Museum as well as the name of the Phoenician city of Arād. The names Yahu, Yahva, Yahvat, occurring in the Vedas, have an unmistakable resemblance with Jehovah or Yahweh. (R. G. Harshe, 'The Trails of the Vedic Civilization in the Middle-East, *Kalka Prasad Bhatnagar Commemoration Volume*, Kanpur 1961, pp. 165-176.)

In *Rigveda* (I, 123. 8) there is a reference to the residence of the goddess of dawn, Uṣas, in the realm of Varuṇa for a long time. सदृशीरद्य सदृशीरिदु श्वो दीर्घं सचन्ते वरुणस्य धाम. On the basis of this remark B.G. Tilak has thought that the Aryans lived in the Arctic regions. But the idea behind it seems to have been apparently derived from the Babylonian myth of Ishtar going to the nether world to bring nectar for revivifying her lover Tammuz, suffering there the torments, punishments and imprisonment,

They remembered these people as 'asuras'. Hence this word is widely found in Indo-European languages e. g. Sanskrit. *asura*, Iranian *ahura*. From these languages it has passed into the Finno-Ugrian languages : Mordvin *azoro*, *azor*, Votyak *uzir* Zyryan *ozīr*, Vogul *oter*, *āter*.[124] All these forms presuppose* *azur* with a palatal spirant. The modern Persian word *huzur* apparently seems to be connected with it. This word, denoting the Semetic people of Mesopotamia, which later on became a synonym for 'lord', was employed by the Āryas to mean all the peoples and cultures belonging to this stock or having affinities with it. Since it is believed that the Indus-Valley and Harappa culture with its use of building the internments of contracted bodies in brick-cist-graves, the shell-inlays, the mace-heads and pestles and the vogue of stamp-seals, engraved with the figures of Bos primigenius and unicorns and the clay-models of rams and the female figurines had marked affinities with the culture of the Tigris-Euphrates Valley, the Aryans were justified in calling the peoples of this culture Asuras. It is also noteworthy that according to Dr. Hall the Dravidians of India resemble in anthropological type the Sumerians of Mesopotamia. Hall even went to the extent of holding that the Sumerians came to the Middle-East from India.[125] To sum up, the use of the word *asura* with reference to the people, whom the Aryans met and fought, shows that they had ethnic and cultural connections with the people of the Middle-East. These people constituted a prominent element in the population of India in ancient times.

The wars of the Āryas and Asuras are referred to in several passages of the *Ṛgveda*.[126] Indra is said to have shattered the towns and forts (*pura*) and foiled the strategy and magic

inflicted by her sister Allatu, the presiding deity of that region, and after the painful stay of four to six months, coming back to the earth with the desired nectar. The idea of Uṣas remaining for a long time in the nether world and that of Ishtar living for four to six months in the realm of Allatu are very close to each other.

124. T. Burrow, *The Sanskrit Language* p. 24.
125. Hall, *Ancient History of the Near East* p. 173.
126. *Ṛgveda* VIII, 85, 9

तिग्मायुधं मरुतामनीकं कस्त इन्द्र प्रतिवज्रं दधर्ष ।
अनायुधासो असुरा अदेवाश्चक्रेण तां अपवप ऋजीषिन् ।

(*mayā*) of the Asuras Pipru and Varchin[127] and Varuṇa is reported to have baffled the Asuras by making their science ineffective.[128] An account of the war of the Āryas and the Asuras, *devāsurasangrāma*, is preserved in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*.[129] It states that the Devas and Asuras both sprang from Prajāpati and entered on their father's inheritance. The gods obtained the mind and the Asuras the speech. Further the gods got the heaven and the Asuras the earth. Thereafter the Devas contrived to deprive the Asuras of their speech and earth and baffled and killed them. There is also a significant chapter in the *Mahābhārata*, which refers to the antagonism of Indra and Asuramada, who rushed forward to devour Indra at the instance of Cyavana, whom Indra had asked to refrain from offering soma to the Aśvins at the sacrifice of Śaryāti.[130]

127. *Ibid*, X, 138, 3

दृल्हानि पिप्रोऽसुरस्य मायिनो इन्द्र व्यास्यच्चक्रिणां ऋजिश्वना ।

128. *Ibid*, X, 124, 5.

निर्माया उ त्ये असुरा अभूवँन्त्वं च मां वरुण कामयासे ।
ऋतेन राजन्ननृतं विविञ्चन् मम राष्ट्रस्याधिपत्यमेहि ॥

129. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* III, 2, 1 Egglings translaton (Sacred Books of the East) part II, p. 32

130. *Mahābhārata*, III, 124, 19-20

ततः कृत्याथ संजज्ञे मुनेस्तस्य तपोबलात् ।
मदो नाम महावीर्यो बृहत्कायो महासुरः ।
शरीरं तस्य निर्देष्टुमशक्यं तु सुरासुरैः ।
तस्यास्यमभवद् घोरं तीक्ष्णाग्रदशनं महत् ।

ibid III; 1-3

तं दृष्ट्वा घोरवदनं मदं देवः शतक्रतुः ।
आयान्तं भक्षयिष्यन्तं व्यात्ताननमिवान्तकम् ।
भयात् संस्तम्भितभुजः सृक्किणी लेलिहन् मुहुः ।
ततोऽब्रवीत् देवराजश्च्यवनं भयपीडितः ।
सोमार्हावश्विनावेतावद्यप्रभृति भार्गव ।
भविष्यतः सत्यमेतद् वचो विप्र प्रसीद मे ॥

These chapters have a Mazdaian look and appear to have been based on some legends, in which Indra is degraded at the cost of Ahuramazdā. In the *Mahābhārata* Aburmazdā and his daughter Hverenāh, who lives in eternal light in the heaven, are also described as *Harimedhas* and his maiden daughter *Dhvajavati*. *Ibid*., IV, 109, 13.

अत्र ध्वजवती नाम कुमारी हरिमेधसः ।
आकाशे तिष्ट तिष्ठेति तस्थौ सूर्यस्य शासनात्

Harimedhas recalls Harmuz the Pahlavi form of the name of Ahuramazda. (V. S. Agrawala, 'Mahābhārata : A Cultural Commentary' *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* vol. 37 (1956) p. 5).

Menaced by the cosmic figure and strength of Asuramada Indra implored Cyavana to rescue him and agreed to the offering of soma to the Aśvins. Here Asuramada clearly refers to the Iranian god Ahuramazda and his attack on Indra alludes to the wars of the Mazdayasnians and Daevayasnians, described in the gāthās of the *Zindavesta*. After the first wave of Aryan invasion, characterised by the cult of Asura Varuṇa,[131] had subsided and merged itself in the culture of the Pre-Aryan people, the second wave rose and swamped the whole land, including the earlier Aryans of the first wave. In the eyes of these later Aryans the earlier Aryans were as much detestable as the Dasyus and Asuras themselves. The later Aryans, vilified as the Daevas in Iranian literature and glorified as Devas in Indian traditions, dominated the land and culture of India. Therefore, the Asuras were always looked down upon in India and the Aryan poets implored their gods to smite them along with the Dasyus.[132] Vṛtra was a symbol of these people

6. *Vṛtra as master of Saptasindhu.*

Vṛtra is said to have controlled the waters of Saptasindhus and Indra is known to have wrested them from him.[133] Hillebrandt held that the waters, referred to in this account, were terrestrial rather than celestial.[134] As a matter of fact, the cloud

131. *Ṛgveda* VII, 65, 2.
ता हि देवानामसुरा:
Ibid. V. 83, 6.
Here 'Asura' is an epithet of Parjanya and Sāyaṇa explains it as '*deva*'.

132. *Atharvaveda* X, 3, X, 11.
स मे शत्रून्विबाधतामिन्द्रो दस्यूनिवासुरान् ।
Ibid IX, 1, 2, 17
येन देवा असुरान् प्राणुदन्त येनेन्द्रो दस्यूनधमं तमो निनाय ।

133. (i) *Ṛgveda*. II 12, 3
यो हत्वाहिमरिणात्सप्तसिन्धून्यो गा उदाजदपधा बलस्य ।
(ii) *Ṛgveda* II, 33, 6
इन्द्रो अस्माँ अरदद्वज्रबाहुरपान्वृत्रं परिधिं नदीनाम
(iii) *Ibid.* X, 37, 7
अर ''न्त सिन्धून्
(iv) *Ibid.* VII, 49. 1
समुद्रज्येष्ठा सलिलस्य मध्यात्पुनाना यन्त्यनिविशमाना: ।
इन्द्रो या वज्री वृषभो रराद ता आपो देवीरिह मामवन्तु ।

134. Hillebrandt, *Vedische Mythologie* III pp. 155-344.

is a bringer of rain rather than its obstructor. Hence the view that Vṛtra as a cloud-demon obstructed the rain water, which Indra released, does not carry conviction. Even Sāyaṇa interprets the Sapta-sindhus as earthly rivers like Gangā and the Yamunā.[135] But this commentator was probably unaware of the fact that in ancient terminology the Seven Rivers particularly signified the rivers of the Indus system. Ptolemy understands by the seven confluents of the Indus, the Koe, (Skt. *Kubhā*, modern *Kabul*), the Svasto (Skt. *Suvāstu*, modern *Swat*), the upper part of the Indus (Skt. *Sindhu* modern *Sindh*), Vipaspi (Skt. *Vitastā*, modern *Jhelum*), Sandaval (Skt. *Asikni* modern Chenab), Adris (Skt. *Paruṣṇi*, modern *Ravi*) and Bioasis (Skt. *Vipaś*, modern *Beas*).[136] These seven rivers of the Indus system are called the 'seven mouths' of the Indus in the inscriptions of the classical period.[137] Thus it is certain that the Sapta-sindhavaḥ referred to the aforesaid rivers of Gandhāra and the Panjab. The myth of the wresting and releasing of these seven rivers from the hold of Vṛtra by Indra refers to the conquest of these regions by the Āryas having Indra as their god and hero.

It is noteworthy that Vṛtra is associated with the mountains. In *Ṛgveda* VIII, 3, 19 he is described as lying on a summit whence Indra cast him down.[138] In some *ṛks* the mountain is said to be within the belly of Vṛtra. This shows that Vṛtras lived on or near some mountain. These mountains refer to those of Gandhāra, where the Aryans, subscribing

135. Sāyaṇa on *Ṛgveda* II, 13, 3

सप्त सर्पणशीला=सिन्धून्

स्यन्दनशीला अप: अरिणात् प्रैरयत् । यद्वा । सप्त गंगायमुनाद्या

मुख्या नदीररिणात् ।

For other interpretations see B. G. Tilak, *Arctic Home in the Vedas* ch IX pp. 232-296. A. A. Macdonnell, *Vedic Mythology* p. 159; Bloomfield, *Religion of the Vedas* pp. 178-81. Max Müller, *India—What it can teach us?* p. 122.

136. J. W. McCrindle, *Ancient India as Described by Ptolemy* p. 81.

137. Mehrauli Iron-Pillar Inscripton of Candra line 2.

तीर्त्वा सप्तमुखानि येन समरे सिन्धोर्जिता वाह्लीका: । J.F.Fleet *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* Vol. III no. 31

138. *Ṛgveda* VIII, 3, 19.

निरिन्द्र बृहतीभ्यो वृत्रं धनुभ्यो अस्फुर: ।

to the Indra-cult, fought some of their bitter contests It is significant that Indra is said to have searched out Śambara after forty years of hot pursuit in the mountains. He also killed Rauhiṇa as he tried to climb up the mountains to heaven.[1] In *Ṛgveda* I, 154, I Viṣṇu is said to have conquered the northern homeland (*uttaram sadastham*) for the Āryas by encompassing the whole land in his three steps.[140] Here the three steps of Viṣṇu probably refer to the Völkerwanderung of the Aryans in the Parthian regions (*pārthivāni rajānsi*). From the mention of northern places, tribes and countries in Vedic hymns Brunnhofer infers that the *Ṛgveda* "is the work of poets of North Iran from Caspian Sea to the Panjab''[141] and Hillebrandt holds that some hymns of the *Ṛgveda*, especially the sixth maṇḍala, were composed when the Aryans were occupying some parts of Iran.[142] As a matter of fact, the reference to the northern tribes[143] like the *Paktha* (modern Pakhtoons). *Bṛṣaya* (Barsacutus of Arrian), *Pārāvata* (Parautai of Ptolemy), *Paṇi* (Parnians of Strabo), *Pṛthus*, *Parśu* (Persians), *Mīḍha* (Medians), *Keśin* (Kassites), *Sṛnjaya* (Drangians), *Śiva* (Siboi)

139. *Ṛgveda* II, 12, 11-12.

य: शम्बरं पर्वतेषु क्षियन्तं चत्वारिंश्यां शरद्यन्वविन्दत् ।
यो रौहिणमस्फुरद्वज्रबाहुर्द्यामारोहन्तं स जनास इन्द्रः ॥

140. *Ṛgveda*, I, 154, 1.

विष्णोर्नु कं वीर्याणि प्रवोचं य: पार्थिवानि विममे रजांसि ।
योऽस्कभायदुत्तरं सधस्थं विचक्रमाणस्त्रेधोरुगायः ॥

The three steps of Viṣṇu are taken by the Nairuktas to mean the three periods of the suns' course—his rise, culmination and setting. (Wilson, *Introduction to the Ṛgveda Samhita* pp. 25. 26) This view is also expressed by Durgācārya in his commentary on the Nirukta of Yāska. But Aurṇavābha, a predecessor of Yāska, held that Viṣṇu literally and physically stepped over the earth, horizon and sky in the past and in his ascent he stepped at the Viṣṇupāda on the Gayā-peak. (K. P. Jayaswal, *Indian Antiquary* (1918) p. 94). In this connection it is significant to note that in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (V. 2, 5.2) it is stated that 'men are viṣṇus,' Thus it is certain that some Vedic traditions regarded Viṣṇu as a historical personage.

141. *Arische Urzeit* (1910). Brunnhofer sees in some passages of the *Ṛgveda* an echo of the Aryan invasion of Babylon. (H. Brunnhofer, *Iran und Turan* p. 221) Though his interpretations are forced and far-fetched, we have clear Vedic references to the Asuras, who were spread from Mesopotamia to India before the coming of the Aryans.

142. Hellebrandt, *Vedische Mythologie* I pp 97.

143. D. R. Bhandarkar, *Some Aspects of Ancient Indian culture* pp. 2-3 This writer observes "It will thus he seen that the composers of the hymns were living side by side not only with the people of the Saptasindhus but also with those of Afaghanistan, Arachosia and even Iran.". (p. 3)

etc. and to the northern rivers *Kubhā* (Kabul), *Krumu*(Kuram), *Gomati* (Gomal), *Yavyāvati* (Jhob), *Sarasvati* (Haraqaiti) etc. lends colour to the remark of Max Müller that "in the Veda the stage, on which the life of the ancient kings and poets is acted, is the valley of the Indus and the Panjab, the Sapta-sindhavaḥ of the Vedic poets. The land, watered by the Ganges, is hardly known and the whole of the Deccan seems not to have been discovered"[144]

Thus it is clear that the myth of releasing the waters of Saptasindhus from the hold of Vṛtra shows that he was in occupation of Gandhāra and the Panjab and the Aryans conquered these regions by defeating him.

7. *Vṛtra as a serpent.*

It is clear from the above discussion that Vṛtra is a symbol of the un-Aryan people of Gandhāra and the Panjab. We have now to study their religion and culture. In this connection it is noteworthy that in the *Ṛgveda* Vṛtra is often referred to by his epithet or synonym *Ahi* or serpent.[145] In Iranian traditions also Vṛthra is known as *Aji*, which is the same as *Ahi*. His role in the *Avesta* is almost analoguous to that in the Veda. He guards the fastnesses, where the stolen cows or maidens are locked away. He represents the spirit of sin or evil and is, therefore, called *angra-mainyu*. In later Iranian traditions, embodied in the *Shāh Nāmā* of Firdausi, this dragon-king Aji-Dahāk, figures as the Turanian King Afrasiab. His shoulders are said to have been kissed by the evil one, as a result of which two living snakes sprang from them which had to be daily fed on human brains. This is a reminiscence of serpent-worship and human sacrifices that were prevalent among the ancient peoples of these countries. These traditions show that the serpent was the symbol of Vṛtra. This is why the Iranians hate the serpent so much as to include it among the ahrimani creatures and think it meritorious to kill it

144. Max Müller, *India-what it can teach us?* p. 122. Of course, there are solitary references to the Gangā and Yamuna in the *Nadisūkta* of the *Ṛgveda* (X, 75) but no particular significance is attached to them, while fully half of the hymn is devoted to the glorification of the Sindhu. In fact, the Sindhu is treated as a god on a footing of equality with Mitra, Varuṇa and Dyaus (*Ṛgveda* I, 115, 6).

145. *Ṛgveda* II, 12, 3, II, 12, 11. (*Op. cit*).

with the Khrafstraghna, which forms part of the paraphernalia of an Athravan.

In India the people, having the serpent as their symbol, were called the serpents or Nāgas,[146] just as the southern wild tribes, having the monkey as their symbol, were called the monkeys or Vānaras.[147] According to the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (XIII, 4, 3) the tale of Arbuda Kādraveya, who represented the serpents and the serpent-knowers, was to be recited to the king, who performed the Aśvamedha sacrifice, on the fifth day. The text to be recited on that day is called *Sarpa-vidyā-veda*. Thus, according to this Brāhmaṇa, the serpents were an old people with a scripture and tradition of their own. Legends point to the existence of a race of serpents (Nāgas) and their habitat, the Pātālaloka. This place is the same as the maritime island of Pattala or Patalae, which Megasthenes and Arrian described as being situated at the mouth of the Indus and which Cunningham identified with Nirankol or Hyderabad in Sindh.[148] The location of Pātāla, the seat of the serpents, in the lower Indus valley shows that this place was the cradle of a culture and people, whose prominent and characteristic symbol was the serpent. We learn from the seals, exhumed at Mohenjodaro, that the serpent symbol was a dominant feature of the people, who developed this culture. A seal depicts the cross-legged figure of a deity with Nāga-worshippers to right and left and *Pipal* branches over the head.[149] This figure seems to be a representation of Śiva, who is associated with serpents in later Hindu religion and mythology. This view finds some support from the fact that the Nāgas, who ruled in northern India somewhat before the rise of the Guptas, worshipped Śiva as their iṣṭadeva and are described in epigraphic records as carrying the phallus of Śiva on their shoulders as their religious symbol.[150]

146. A. Banerji-Śastri, 'The Nāgas' *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* Vol. XVIII pp. 338-350.

147. V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, 'Some Aspects of Vānara culture', *Indian Culture* Vol. XIII. P. 119.

148. J. W. McCrindle, *Ancient India as Described by Megasthenes and Arrian* P. 158. and p. 187.

149. S. V. Venkatesvara, 'Proto-Indian Culture :' *Cultural Heritage of India* vol III p. 60.

150. J. F. Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* vol. III no. 55.

The serpent-symbol of the Proto-Indian people has its exact analogue in western and central Asia. In Turanian mythology the serpent is regarded as a symbol of the highest deity. The influence of serpent-symbology is still manifest on the religions, prevalent in Kurdistan these days. There is a sect of the Yezidis among the Kurds of Assyria, who worship the devil in the form of a serpent and dedicate temples to him.[151] In Mesopotamia the Akkadian supreme god Ea was worshipped at his holiest shrine at Eridhu in the form of a serpent and, as Eridhu was the centre, from which Chaldean civilization started and spread, the serpent symbol was accepted as representing this race and its religion.[152] An indication of the similarity of serpent symbols among the peoples of India and the Middle East is provided by the fact that the word *Svaja*, which is a snake-name in the fifth book of the *Atharva-veda*, occurs in the inscriptions of the Achaemenian emperors as *Xuja* and *Xuvaja*, which denotes Elam. Likeswise *Taimāta*, occurring in the same book of this Veda, corresponds to "the well-known androgynous dragon Tiamat, whose fight with Markuk is the subject of some of the Cuneiform tablets of the creation legends".[153] In the charm against snake-poison,[154] in which the word Taïmata occurs, there are some other significant snake-names of Chaldean derivation, as pointed out by Lokamānya Bal Gangadhar Tilak. Urugulā appears as Urugala or Urugula in the Akkadian language. As Tilak wrote "literally it means 'the great (gal-gula) city (uru)',

अंसभारसन्निवेशितशिवलिङ्गोद्वहनशिवसुपरितुष्टसमुत्पादितराजवंशानां भारशिवानाम्

Chaṃmak copper Plate Inscription of Mahārāja Pravarasena II.

151. Zénaide A. Ragozin, *Media, Babylon & Persia* p. 270.

152. Zénaide A. Ragozin, *Chaldea* pp. 215,246, 287.

153. Balgangadhar Tilak, 'Chaldean and Indian Vedas', *R. G. Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume* pp. 32 ff.

154. *Atharvaveda*, V. 13, 6-8.

असितस्य तैमातस्य बभ्रोरपोदकस्य च ।
सात्रासाहस्याहं मन्योरिव ज्यामिव धन्वनो वि मुञ्चामि रथमिव ॥
आलिगी च विलिगी = पिता च माता च ।
विद्म वः सर्वतो बन्ध्वरसाः किं करिष्यथ ।
उरूगूलाया दुहिता जाता दासस्यिक्न्या ॥
प्रतंकं दद्रुषीणां सर्वासामरसं विषम् ॥

but is generally used to denote the great nether world, the abode of the dead, a place visited by Ishtar in her search for her lover Dumuzi or Tamuz. Personified, it means the deity of the nether world and a female snake can be fitly described as Urugula's daughter."[155] As regards Āligī and Vīligī, the father and mother of a snake, they appear to be Akkadian words connected with the name of the Assyrian gods *Bil* and *Bil-gi*.[156] In India these words are still prevalent as *alāy-balāy*, which denote the evil and malevolent spirits. Besides the Akkadian names in this hymn, there are some words in the *Ṛgveda*, which betray the influence of Mesopotamian serpent-mythology. Bhandarkar has shown that *apsu* in the name *apsujit*, given to Indra in *Ṛgveda* (VIII, 12, 3; IX, 106, 3), is based upon the Chaldean word *abzu*, which is the name of the husband of Tiamat and denotes the primeval chaos of watery abyss. "It is because Indra released the waters enveloped and hemmed in by *Ahi*, the Vedic Tiamat, that the former has been styled *Apsujit*"[157]. Bhandarkar points out a much closer resemblance between the legends about the Vedic Indra and the Chaldean Marduk. The serpent Tiamat, killed by Markuk, is sometimes represented as having seven heads, while Indra is called *sapta-han* or the 'killer of seven' in the Vedas (*Ṛgveda* X, 49, 8), and the closed watery ocean, the doors which Indra and Agni opened by their prowess, is described as *sapta-budhna* (seven-bottomed) in *Ṛgveda* VIII, 40, 5. It is well-known that the name of *Vāsuki*, the younger brother of Śeṣanāga, agrees with that of the Semetic serpent *Baśku*.[158] This similarity of serpent symbols among the un-Aryan peoples of India and the Middle East strengthens the view of their having belonged to a common racial and cultural stock.

Thus we find that the religion of the Vṛtras centered round a sort of serpent symbology, because of which they came to be known as serpents, Ahi, in Vedic literature. Kasten Rönnow has emphasized the contrast of Aryan beliefs with the fetishes of the serpent-worshipping aboriginals.[159] In view

155. B. G. Tilak, *Op. cit.*

156. A.S. Altekar, *Presidential Address* to the Delhi Session of the All-India Oriental Conference 1957.

157. D. R. Bhandarkar, *Some Aspects of Ancient Indian Culture* p. 32.

158. A. H. Sayce, *Records of the Past* (New seris) vol VI page 122.

159. K. Rönnow, 'Vedic Krivi' *Acta Orientalia* Vol. *XVI* pp. 161-180.

of the widely prevalent mythic data relating to the hero-dragon-legends of ancient peoples, for instance, the myths of Zeus and Typhon, Hercules and the Hydra, Apollo and Python among the Greeks, the fable of Thor and the serpent among the Teutous, the tales of Marduk and Tiamat, Gilgamesh and Humbaba, Innara and the Dragon in the Middle-East and the dual of Thraetaona and Azi-Dahāka and Rustam and Afrasiab in ancient Iran, all of which correspond to the Indra-Vṛtra conflict, described in the Vedas, the theory of Siecke[160] that this contest of Indra and Ahi reflects lunar origins is not convincing.

8. *Vṛtra as a Brāhmaṇa.*

The above discussion shows that Vṛtra represents the Proto-Indian un-Aryan people, whom the Aryans met and conquered, as they advanced in India. But, as we have seen, the Vṛtras do not mean the entire body of the Dāsas and Dasyus. They are expressly distinguished from them.[161] This shows that they constituted a particular class or caste among them. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* contains an account of the origin of Vṛtra, which gives us very valuable information about the position of the Vṛtras in early Indian society. The narrative opens with a discussion of how Indra used to snatch and quaff off the tubs of soma juice belonging to Tvaṣṭṛ and killed his three-headed and six-eyed son Viśvarūpa. Thereupon, Tvaṣṭṛ collected what remained of soma juice in a tub and excluded Indra from it. But, all of a sudden, Indra came uninvited and quaffed off almost the whole of soma juice, collected in that tub. Tvaṣṭṛ grew furious and poured what remained of soma in the tub into the fire saying, "Grow then having Indra for thy foe." The moment it reached the fire it developed into human shape and became possessed of Agni and Soma, of all sciences, of all glory, all nourishment, all prosperity and since it so developed whilst rolling onwards (*vṛt*) it became Vṛtra. But, because the incantation of Tvaṣṭṛ was misaccen-

160. E. Siecke, *Indra's Drachenkampf* 1905.

161. *Ṛgveda* VII, 83, 1.

दासा च वृत्रा हतमार्याणि च सुदासमिन्द्रावरुणावसावतम्

ted, it meant that Indra would be the foe of Vṛtra and consequently Indra killed Vṛtra.[162]

Plainly interpreted this Brāhmaṇa means that the Aryans used to molest and kill the Dasyus and Asuras, who organised themselves for defence and protection under the leadership of Vṛtra.

Vṛtra, we further learn from the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, was the product and repository of Agni and Soma and was also adept in all sciences and humanities. He was also, as the same Brāhmaṇa informs at another place,[163] the receptacle of the knowledge (Veda) of the *ṛks*, *yajus* and *sāmans*. His popularity and respect among the people is hinted at by the statement of the Brāhmaṇa that in the forenoon the gods effered him food, at midday the men and in the afternoon the fathers. Thus Vṛtra, according to this Brāhmaṇa, possessed the rights to sacrifice to gods and propitiate them, to invoke their blessings and bring prosperity to the people, to learn, teach, preserve and practise the sacred lore, as enshrined in the *ṛks*, *yajus* and *sāmans*, and to accept charities and offerings from the people. He, thus, performed the functions of sacrificers, magicians and fortune-bringers and represented the priestly class among the Proto-Indian people. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (I, 2.,3,) clearly states that the assassination of Viśvarūpa amounted to brahmanicide or *brahmahatyā*. Hence Indra was at his wits' end as to how to remove this sin. Seeing no other way out, he transferred this sin to the Āptyas, who attended on him and were, in consequence, regarded as the abettors of the crime. The Āptyas, in turn, transferred the sin, wantonly trumped upon them, to all those, who would make an offering without a gift to the priest. Therefore, the making of an offering without giving the fees to the officiating priest amounts to brahmanicide or Vṛtrahatyā.[164]

That the Vṛtras were the priests of the Proto-Indian people is conclusively established by Indian historical traditons of later times. According to the *Mahābhārata*, Vṛtra is identical

162. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* I, 6, 4; Eggelings' translation *Sacred Books of the East* Vol. XII pp. 164-165.

163. *Ibid.* V, 5, 5, Eggeling's translation SBE vol xli p. 138.

164. *Ibid*, I, 2, 3 तस्मान्नादक्षिणेन हविषा यजेत् आप्त्य उ ह तस्मिन् मृजते अदक्षिणेन हविषा जयते

with Viśvarūpa Tvāṣṭra and, according to the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* of the *Yajurveda* (II, 5, 1,1), Viśvarūpa-Tvāṣṭra was the sister's son of the Asuras and acted as the Purohita of the gods. Therefore, by killing him, Indra became guilty of the most heinous offence of Brahmahatyā, as the Taittirīya Saṁhitā observes. This crime figures prominently in the record of sins, which was attached to the name of Indra by reason of his enmity towards the Brāhmaṇas. The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* observes that Indra was looked down upon in consequence of his conduct towards the Brāhmaṇas and was excluded from soma-drinking. Keith renders this passage as follows :

"When the gods excluded Indra saying 'he hath misused Viśvarūpa, son of Tvaṣṭṛ , he hath laid low Vṛtra, he hath given the Yatis to the hyaenas, he hath killed Arūramaghas, he hath contended with Bṛhaspati', then Indra was deprived of soma-drinking and in accordance with the deprivation of Indra, the lordly power was deprived of soma-drinking."[165]

The epics also repeatedly state that Indra incurred the sin of Brahmanicide by killing Vṛtra and Namuci.[166] In chapters 282-287 of the *Śāntiparvan* of the *Mahābhārata* Bhīṣma narrates the story of the killing of Vṛtra by Indra and clearly says that the killing of Vṛtra amounted to the murder of a Brāhmaṇa. In the initial stages of his fight with Vṛtra Indra suffered some set-backs for, as Bhīṣma says, Vṛtra practised penances for 60,000 years in order to obtain strength; Brahman had given him the boons, he had solicited viz, the greatness of Yogins, extensive powers of illusion, excess of might etc. Indra, then, sought the aid of Śiva, who imparted to him his own energy. The Devas, then, uttered loud cheers. Suddenly all the Asuras were afflicted with the loss of memory; in a trice their powers of illusion also disappeared and Vṛtra was overtaken by fever. Indra, then, hurled the thunderbolt

165. *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (XII, 28) A. B. Keith *Ṛgveda Brāhmaṇas* p. 314.

166. *Mahābhārata* XII, 344. 13209.

ततः प्रणष्टे देवेन्द्रे ब्रह्महत्याभयार्दिते ।
भूमिः प्रध्वस्तसंकाशा निर्वृक्षा शुष्ककानना ।

Rāmāyaṇa VII, 85, 19

हतश्चायं त्वया वृत्रो ब्रह्महत्या च वासव ।
बाधते सुरशार्दूल मोक्षं तस्य विनिर्दिश ॥

at him. It cut Vṛtra into two halves. Vṛtra then came to the highest regions of Viṣṇu, for it was by his devotion to Viṣṇu that he had overwhelmed the universe. Then Indra entered heaven with his vajra. Then Brahmavadhyā (sin of brahmanicide) issued out of the slain Vṛtra. Sometime afterwards, when Indra was proceeding towards heaven, she siezed him and stuck to him. Indra entered the fibres of a lotus-stalk and dwelt there for many years. But Brahmavadhyā pursued him closely and deprived him of all his energy. At last, he repaired to Brahman, who made Brahmavadhyā leave him by apportioning one quarter to Agni (whence it should enter him, who does not offer oblations of seed etc. to Agni), one quarter to the trees and grass (whence it should possess the man, who would cut or tear grass), one quarter to the apsarās (whence it should possess that man, who would cohabit with women during their monthly menstrual course) and one quarter to the waters (whence it should possess that man, who would cast phlegm, urine, excrements etc. into the water). With Brahman's permission, Indra, then, performed a horse sacrifice and thereby became cleansed of the sin, regained his prosperity and slew thousands of his foes.[167] Vṛtra left many of his descendants, who were, according to the Purāṇas *brahmavid* (knowers of Brahma or Brāhmaṇas) and *dhārmika* (of pious and religious character).[168]

The account of Vṛtrahatyā, paraphrased from the *Mahābhārata*, above shows that (1) the Vṛtras used to practise arduous penances and were noted Tapasvins, (2) they were the favourites of gods, (3) they knew the science and art of magic very thoroughly and (4) used it to good purpose in resisting the invasions of the Aryans, (5) they were associated with the Asuras and (6) their assassination ranked as the murder of the Brāhmaṇas. The fact that the Vṛtras were the main targets of the wrath and avarice of the Aryans shows that all the prosperity of those times was concentrated in

167. *Mahābhārata* XII., 237 verses 58 ff-paraphrased in Sörensen, *Mahābhārata Index* p. 757.

168. *Vāyu Purāṇa* LXVIII, 34-36.
Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa III, 6, 35, 37.

them and the recurring reference to their cities, forts, citadels[169] and fighting strength demonstrates that they possessed some sort of kingly status among the Proto-Indian people. Thus they constituted the head and front of that society as priest-kings and, when the invasions of the Aryans took place, they were called upon to fight in the vanguard of the armies to protect their life, country and culture.

After a consideration of the archaeological remains of Harappa, R. E. Mortimer Wheeler infers as follows :—

'Whatever the source of their authority, and a dominant religious element may fairly be assumed, the lords of Harappa administered their cities in a fashion not removed from that of the priest-kings or governors of Sumer and Akkad. In Sumer, the wealth and discipline of the city-state were vested in the chief deity i.e. in the priesthood or a priest-king. The civic focus was an exalted temple, centre of an elaborate and carefuily ordered secular administration under divine sanction.[170]

These priest-kings of Harappa-culture are the Vṛtras, described in the Vedas.

169. *Ṛgveda* X. 89, 7 जघान वृत्रं स्वधितिर्वनेव रुरोज पुरो अरदन्न सिन्धून्

Ibid. VII, 19, 5

त्वं च्योत्नानि वज्रहस्त तानि नव यत्पुरो नवतिं च सद्य ।
निवेदने शततमाविवेशारिहन् च वृत्रं नमुचिमुताहन् ॥

Ibid. I, 32, 10

अतिष्ठन्तीनामनिवेशनानां काष्टानां मध्ये निहितं शरीरम ।
वृत्रं निण्यं विचरन्त्यापो दीर्घं तम आशयदिन्द्रशत्रुः ॥

Ibid. X, 76, 3

गोऽरणीसि त्वाष्ट्रे अश्वनिर्णिजि प्रेमध्वरेष्वध्वरां अशिश्रयुः ।

The reference to the *ninya*, of Vṛtra in the *pura* answers to what we observe at Harappa. "On the Western edge of this city rose an impressive citadel, an approximate rectangle or parallelogram with its long axis north and south and measuring about 400 by 200. This was lrmed of an artificial platform over 30 feet high of mud brick faced with burnt brick revetments and strong defensive walls, carrying on its fortified summit a group of buildings which are not private houses but houses with a ceremonial or public charcter. To this high defended citadel belonged processional terraces and monumental gateways; below it lay the streets and houses of the town and the industrial quarters of a semi-servile labouring class" (Stuart Pigott, *Pre-historic India* p. 151.)

170. R. E. Mortimer Wheeler, 'Harappa 1946: the Defences and Cemetery R. 37, *Ancient India* (1947) no. 3 pp. 58-130.

9. *The Impact of Vṛtra-culture on the Aryans and the genesis of the Vedas.*

In the myth of Indra-Vṛtra conflict we find a reference to the wars, which the Aryans proclaimed against the priest kings of the Panjab. But war alone is not an effective way of conquest. In order to make the military achievement abiding, it is necessary for the victors to win the allegiance of the vanquished people by convincing them of the wisdom of accepting the foreign sway as a beneficent thing. Hence the victors and conquerors usually pose as the protectors of the culture and religion of the defeated people. Besides this, the culture of the defeated people, if it is advanced, exercises a magnetic influence on uncouth invaders by holding out the prospect of pleasant, orderly and civilised life before them. Similarly their religion, if it possesses life and vitality, inspires in the hearts of the credulous incomers a sense of heavenly bliss and spiritual heatitude by promising them sumptuous rewards such as they cannot acquire by war and plunder. The Aryan invaders of Iran and India were no exception to this law. Let us first cast a glance at the history of Aryan culture in Iran.

The changes, which the Aryans underwent in Iran on account of their contact with aboriginal elements, had an important bearing on the subsequent development of Aryan culture. We have seen above that Vṛtra is an object of hate and reproach in the Avesta. But in later Iranian mythology the personality of his counterpart Aji-Dahāk is somewhat whitewashed. In Persian epos he is said to have killed Yima, the first king of the golden age, as he faltered from the path of duty. He is also said to have reigned in Iran after King Jamshed.[171] The traces of the influence of the culture of the vanquished people on the religion and literature of the Aryans are observable in a section of the Parsi scriptures, the *Vendidad*. In this book the use of the *Baresman*[172] for divining gods, the treatment of the dead,

171. S.G.W. Benjamin, *Persia* p. 5.

172. *Baresman* was a bundle of sacred twigs, which were used as divining rods in ancient Sumer. The Iranians adopted their use. Baresman is emntioned several times in the Avesta. Its form in the inscription of erxes

the curing of diseases by conjuring spells, the exaggerated reverence paid to the elements of nature, the belief in numberless hosts of fiends, that are always on the watch to pounce on man, and draw him to perdition and the concentration on the dark, demonic and fiendish spirits, which are characteristic of the Chaldean world, are reminiscent of aboriginal practices and superstitions, which found their way in Persian religion. Gradually, sorcery, witchcraft and black magic became the distinguishing features of later Zoroastrianism. This magic was contained in a piece of literature, known as the Angiras, which, according to the *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, was the fourth Veda of the *magii* or the Parsis.[173] That the *Angiras* was associated with an eggressive practice of spells or *kṛtyā* is known from the *Atharvaveda* (VIII, 5, 9)[174] This Veda also informs us that angiras-magic originated in the West.[175] About the magic element in Iranian religion, the famous authority on the *Zindavesta* M. de Harlez writes as follows :—

"The incantations of which the Vendidād supplies a few specimens, assuredly have their origin in Shumir and Turanian Media. The multitude of Daevas in the Avestan world, the belief in their unremitting action, in their continual attacks, in the necessity of incantations and conjurations to defeat them, the superstitions such as that about the parings of nails, being turned into weapons for the Devas, all this dark and gruesome side of Zoroastrianism is certainly the product of Chaldean and Turanian habits of thought....................

in *brazman*. Its Indian form is *brahman*, which means a sacred wooden ladle meant for pouring oblations in the fire at sacrifices. It is also a symbol of divine power. Thus Brahman was invested with a spiritual significance. A person conversant with brahman is a Brāhmaṇa' (Buddha Prakāsh' A Study of the Word Brahman' *Journal of the Bihar Research society* Vol. 35 (1949) pp. 93-96.

173. Reinaud, *Memoire sur l' Inde* p. 344.

174. *Atharvaveda* VIII, 5, 9 कृत्या आंगिरसी: Commenting on this passage Sāyaṇa writes that Angiras magic was contained in a treatise known as *Angiras-Kalpa-Sūtra* composed by Āngiras ṛṣi अंगिरसो महर्षे कृत्याप्रयोगविघातृत्वं आंगिरसकल्पाख्यसूत्रनिर्माणादेव प्रसिद्धम् ।

175. *Atharvaveda* X, 1, 1, 6.

प्रतीचीनं आंगिरसोअध्यक्षो नः पुरोहितः ।
प्रतीचीः कृत्या आकृत्यामून् कृत्याकृतो जहि ॥

Zoroastrianism at first attempted a far more radical reform, of which the Gāthās give us the measure; but the reaction of the national spirit restored the worship of the ancient genii to its former splendour and revived early traditions. Later Mazdaism found nothing better than to force the genii into the heavenly heirarchy, proclaiming them to be the creatures of Mazda and the Iranian heroes into the dualistic order of things, rehandling the stories about them as needful.........

Three grades are distinguishable in this evolution. Iranian religion passed from polytheism to dualism, then rose towards monotheism to fall back again into spirit worship........."[176]

Like the Iranian Aryans the Indian Aryans also adopted a great deal of the culture of Gandhāra and the Panjab. In India the priests had a very prominent place in the society of the Pre-Aryan period. They were adepts in matters of magico-religious significance and as such they wielded a great influence over the peoples and kings of that age. It is remarkable that the leading Brāhmaṇa families are usually associated with un-Aryan and Pre-Aryan dynasties. The Bhārgavas were the priests of the Daitya Hiraṇyakaśipu and[177] Vaśiṣṭha was his sacrificer (hotṛ).[178] Another branch of the Bhārgavas, known as Uśanas Śukra's branch, held the priesthood of the Daityas. The word *Bhṛgu* has been equated with '*Phrygian*'. The Aryans acknowledged the religious power of these Bṛāhmaṇa families and appointed them as their priests and preceptors. Many Aryan chiefs established marital relations with the Daityas and Vṛtras. Āpnavān married Nahuṣa's daughter Ruci and Yayāti, Uśana's daughter Devayāni. Even Āyu, the son of Purūravas Aila, the inveterate enemy of the Brāhmaṇas, married the daughter of Sarvabhānu. The Aryans also began to give the hands of their daughters to the Vṛtras.

176. Harlez, *Les Origines du Zoroastrisme* pp. 317-319.

177. *Mahābhārata* III, 102, 8758.

178. *Ibid* XII, 344, 13209. The Vāsiṣṭhas in general were known as *atharvāṇām nidhi*' (the treasure of atharvans) '*śatayātu*' possessing magic of hundred kinds) and '*brahmakośa*' (the store of Brahman) (*Bṛhannāradīya* VII, 63 *Ṛgveda* VII, 18, 21; *Nirukta* VI, 30, *Vāsiṣṭhasmṛti* XXX, 11, Macdonell and keith, *Vedic Index* vol. I. p. 42; II p. 352; F. E. pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition* p.209) They became so notorious in their profession of magic that they took it as an offence to be called '*Yātudhāna*'. In *Ṛgveda* VII, 104, 15-16. Vaśiṣṭha laments that his adversaries wantonly call him '*yātu-dhāna*'.

The Ikṣvāku princess Reṇukā was married to Jamadagni-Bhārgava. Later on, it became a fashion to invite the Brāhmaṇas to impregnate the wives of Aryan kings, if they were impotent. When King Kalmāṣapāda became unfit for procreation on account of the curse of a Brāhmaṇa lady, Vaśiṣṭha was called upon to beget a son on his queen Madayanti in order to preserve the continuity of the royal lineage. Like marriage, adoption was an effective bond of unity among the Aryans and the Brāhmaṇas. Many Aryan kings are recorded to have adopted the scions of Brāhmaṇa families as their sons on the failure of direct male descent. Bharata is said to have adopted Bharadvāja, because of which the Bhāratas could regarded themselves as Kṣatriyas or Brāhmaṇas or both. Thus the Aryans and the Vṛtras were firmly linked together in a blood relationship, which was the hall-mark of Indo-Aryan cultural synthesis.

The impact of Vṛtra culture on the Aryans gave a new orientation to their literary development. It is well-known that the boisterousness and buoyancy of a Völkerwanderung find their superb expression in epics and sagas. The stimulating experience of marching and migrating to new lands and conquering new countries and peoples gushes out in songs, lays and rhapsodies, which assume the form of epic narratives. As phillpotts put it, "drama develops in home country, epic among migrating peoples."[179] At first the narratives of contemporary events and personalities, recited at the *Althing*, constitute the kernel of the epic.[180] But, in course of time, as the storm and stress of the Heroic Age abates, people begin to take more interest in the tales of the older generation than the activities of their own leaders. Gradually, the old heroes are deified and pantheons and mythologies centre round them.[181] The epic begins to assume a religious from and lose its secular character.

179. B. S. Phillpotts, *The Elder Edda and Ancient Scandinavian Drama* pp. 207.

180. A. Olrik, *Viking Civilization* (Eng. trans).

181. As Gilbert Murray has shown Zeus and his Olympian pantheon are derived from the bands of the barbarian war-lords of the Post-Minoan Völkerwanderung. (Gilbert Murray, *Five Stages of Greek Religion* pp. 66-69) Likewise, the Scandinavians conceived of their gods in the image of the warriors of the Viking age. (V. Grönbech, *The Culture of the Teutons* (Eng. trans) part II pp. 252-253.

Among the Indo-Aryans also these three stages of literary evolution are clearly discernible. We have some hymns of the *Ṛgveda*, in which Indra is described as a contemporary personality with his foibles and weaknesses. There are also some hymns, in which he is referred to as an ancient hero performing prodigies of valour and courage. Lastly, he is transformed into a god guiding and inspiring men on the earth. These three stages of the Indra-epic represent the three stages of the literary history of the Ṛgveda. Even the ancient commentator Yāska was aware of this historical development underlying the Veda. He states that in the beginning the ṛṣis directly experienced and visualised the truth (*sākṣātkṛtadharmāṇaḥ*), then came the ṛṣis, who indirectly learnt and conserved the tradition through oral transmission (*upadeśa*), lastly, followed the ṛṣis, who were not amenable to personal communion (*upadeśāya glāyanto*) and were instructed through texts and treatises, which assumed the form of the Veda and the Vedanga.[182] Though Yāska was not conversant with the evolution of epic into scripture and the corresponding transition from secular to sacerdotal literature, he had the insight to discern that the Veda in not a static receptacle of knowledge, but a dynamic development of thought exhibiting a historical tendency. Even the hymns contain traces of the old and the new and expressly distinguish the new composition from the old tradition.[183] Often there are clear references to old and new ṛṣis and their works.[184] Thus the Veda had a history of its own.

Though the Vedic tradition is oblivious of the evolution from epic to scripture, the Paurāṇika tradition is conscious of

182. *Nirukta* I, 20 साक्षात्कृतधर्माण ऋषयो बभूवुः। तेऽवरेभ्योऽसाक्षात्कृतधर्मभ्य उपदेशेन मंत्रान् मंप्रादुः । उपदेशाय ग्लायन्तोऽवरे बिल्मगृहणायेमं ग्रंथं समाम्नासिषुः वेदं च वेदाङ्गानि च ।
Ibid II, 17, 1, नव्यं आंगिरस्वद् अर्चत
Ibid II, 18, 3 सूक्तेन वचसा नवेन
Ibid III, 31, 19 नव्यं कृणोमि सन्यसे पराजम्
183. *Ṛgveda* X, 91, 13 इमां प्रत्नाय सुष्टुतिं नवीयसीं वोचेयम्
Ibid I, 62, 13 नव्यं अताक्षद् ब्रह्म
Ibid I, 101, 2 स्तोमं जनयामि नव्यम्
184. *Ibid* I, 1, 2 अग्निः पूर्वेभि ऋषिभिरीड्यो नूतनैरुत
Ibid VI, 18, 15 उक्थं नवीयो जनयस्व यज्ञैः ।

the priority of the epic lore to Vedic texts. The *Vāyu Purāṇa* states that the Purāṇa was the first text to emerge from the mouth of Brahman and the Vedas issued from his mouths later on.[185] The *Bhāgvata Purāṇa* shows that originally there was one Veda, but, later on, it was split up into the four texts for purposes of sacrifical ritual.[186] In this literary transition and transformation the influence of the Proto-Indian priests, symbolised by Vṛtra, played a significantly formative part. The evidence of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* is of paramount importance in this connection. Let us study the following passages :

"Now, while Indra was, thus, moving on in pursuit of Vṛtra, he addressed Agni and Soma 'ye belong to me and I belong to you, that one is nothing to you; Why then do ye support that Dasyu against me ? Come over to me.'

They replied, 'what is to be our reward in that case ?' He offered them that Agniṣṭoma cake on eleven potshreds.

They went over to him and after them went forth all the gods, all the sciences, all glory, all nourishment, all prosperity : Thus by offering that cake to Agni and Soma Indra became what Indra now is."[187]

185. *Vāyu Purāṇa* I, 58; *Ibid* VI, 8,1 वैश्वानराय मतिर्नव्यसी शुचिः सोम
इव पवते चारुरग्नये ।
प्रथमं सर्वशास्त्राणां पुराणं ब्रह्मणा स्मृतम् ।
अनन्तरं च वक्त्रेभ्यो वेदास्तस्य विनिसृता ॥

186. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* I, 4. 19-20
व्यदधात् यज्ञसंतत्यै वेदमेकं चतुर्विधम् ।
ऋग्यजुःसामाथर्वाख्या वेदाश्चत्वार उद्धृता ॥

187. *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* Eggeling's translation, *Sacred Books of the East vol.* XII pp. 166-167.

Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa I, 6, 3, 12.15.

तस्मै ह स्म पूर्वाह्णे देवा अशनमभिहरन्ति मध्यन्दिने मनुष्यापराह्णेपितरः ।

स वा इन्द्रस्तथैव नुत्तश्चरन् (न्न) अग्नीषोमा उपमन्त्रयाञ्चक्रेऽग्नीषोमौ युवं वै मम स्थो युवयोरहमस्मि न युवयोरेष किञ्चन कं म इमं दस्युं वर्द्धयथ उप मा वर्तेथामिति ।

तौ होचतुः । किमावयोस्ततः स्यादिति ताभ्यामेतमग्नीषोमीयमेकादशकपालं पुरोडाशं निरवपत्तस्मादग्नीषोमीय एकादशकपालः पुरोडाशो भवति ।

तावेनमुपाववृतुः । तावनु सर्वे देवा प्रेयुः सर्वा विद्याः सर्वं यशः सर्वमन्नाद्यᳬ सर्वा श्रीस्तेनेष्ट्वेन्द्र एतदभवद्यदिदमिन्द्र एष उ पौर्णमासस्य बन्धुः स यो हैवं विद्वान् पौर्णमासेन यजत एताᳬ हैव श्रियं गच्छत्येव यशो भवत्येवमन्नादो भवति ।

The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* further observes: "Of old, everything here was within Vṛtra, to wit, the ṛks, the yajus and the sāman. Indra wished to hurl the thunderbolt at him.

He said, 'There is here a (source of) strength : I will give that upto thee, but do not smite me.' and gave up to him the yajus formulae. He aimed at him a second time.

He said, 'There is here a (source of) strength : I will give that to thee, but do not smite me.' and gave up to him the ṛk verses. He aimed at him a third time.

He said, 'There is here a (source of) strength : I will give that up to thee, but do not smite me.' and gave up to him the sāman hymns."[188]

These quotations show that the Proto-Indian un-Aryan people and their priests, cultivated a ritual lore, which was incorporated in the literature of the Aryans under the name of ṛk, yajus and sāman. The object of this lore was the invocation and propitiation of gods. Its form, content and language were originally different from Aryan literature; but, in course of time, it was rendered into Aryan terms, concepts and language. The *Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa* describes the Vrātyas or the un-Aryan people as learning the old Indo-Aryan language[189]

188. *Ibid*, Eggeling's translation, *Sacred Books of the East* vol. XII *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* V, 5, 5, 1-5.

ऐन्द्रावैष्णवं द्वादशकपालं पुरोडाशं निर्वपति । तद्यदेतया यजते वृत्रो ह वा इदमग्रे सर्वमास यदृचो यद्यजूꣳषि यत्सामानि तस्माऽइन्द्रो वज्रं प्राजिहीर्षत् ।

स ह विष्णुमुवाच । वत्रायवै वज्रं प्रहरिष्याम्यनुतिष्टस्वेति तथेति विष्णुरुवाचानु त्वा स्थास्ये, प्रहरेति तस्मा इन्द्रो वज्रमुद्ययाम स उद्यताद्वज्राद्वृत्रो बिभयाञ्चकार । स होवाच । अस्ति वा इदं वीर्यं तन्नुते प्रयच्छामि मा नु मे प्रहार्षीरिति तस्मै यजूꣳषि प्रायच्छत्तस्मै द्वितीयमुद्ययाम ।

स होवाच । अस्ति वा इदं वीर्यं तन्नु ते प्रयच्छामि मा नु मे प्रहार्षीरिति तस्माऽऋचः प्रायच्छत्तस्मै तृतीयमुद्ययाम ।

स होवाच । अस्ति वा इदं वीर्यं तन्नु ते प्रयच्छामि मा नु में प्रहार्षीरिति तस्मै सामानि प्रायच्छत्तस्मादप्येतर्ह्येवमेवैतैर्वेदैर्यज्ञं तन्वते यजुर्भिरेवाग्रेऽथर्ग्भिरथ सामभिरेवꣳ ह्यस्मा एतत्प्रायच्छत् ।

189. *Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa* (XVII, 4)

वाक्यं दुरुक्तमाहु;

अदीक्षिता दीक्षितवाचं वदन्ति

Much matter of the Purāṇas also was likewise translated from the Pre-Aryan languages into the Aryan speech (S. K. Chatterji, *Indo-Aryan and Hindi* p. 52.)

This shows the process of translating the un-Aryan ritual lore into the Aryan idiom. Thus the old Aryan literature, centering round the Indra-epic, was transformed into the ritual codes of the ṛks, yajus and sāmans. The fact that Vṛtra imparted the knowledge of these codes of ṛks, yajus and sāmans to Indra and thereby transferred his strength to him clearly shows that the form, system and arrangement of these *saṃhitās* are manifestly un-Aryan.

After the ritualisation of Aryan literature in the form of the ṛks, yajus and the sāmans and the Aryanisation of Vṛtra scriptural lore, as a consequence, the tradition and remnants of old secular liturature were incorporated in a separate corpus, known as the Purāṇa. We learn from the *Atharvaveda* that the ṛks, sāmans and chandasas and the Purāṇa together with the yajus originated from the residue of the sacrifice.[190] In the sacrifices, like the Aśvamedha, this distinction and articulation of the ṛks, yajus, sāmans and the verses of the Atharvaveda, on one hand, and the Itihāsa and Puraṇa, on the other, were brought into a bold relief. The hotṛ, while reciting the *Pāriplavākhyāna*, dwelt upon the epic aspects of this lore.[191] He quoted the *Ṛgveda*, *Yajurveda*, *Sāmaveda* and *Atharvaveda*, while narrating the stories of the human beings (mānavas) the ancestors (pitṛs), the gods (devas) and the gandharvas respectively. For him, on that occasion, the aitihāsika aspect of the Vedas was more important than the Nairukta facet or the Yājñika purpose. But with the ascendency of the Brāhmaṇas the practice of referring the Vedic hymns to the people, and their Kṣatriya rulers was disliked and the vogue of reciting the *Pāriplavākhyāna* was consequently discontinued. The Brāhmaṇas disowned the authority of Kṣatriya rulers and claimed to be the subjects of their own king Soma only.[192] Hence the Vedas were completely isolated from Kṣatriya

190. *Atharvaveda* XI, 7, 24

ऋचः सामानिच्छन्दांसि पुराणं यजुषा सह ।
उच्छिष्टाज्जज्ञिरे सर्वे दिवि देवा दिविश्रितः ।

191. Paul Emile Dumout, *L' Aśvamedha* pp. 44-49.

192. *Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa* I, 7, 4-6.

एष वो भरता राजा सोमोऽस्माकं ब्राह्मणानां राजेत्याह । तस्मात् सोमराजानो ब्राह्मणाः ।

legends. This was the high water-mark of the complete ritualisation of the Vedas in accordance with Vṛtra tendencies.

We have referred to above to the view of several scholars that some parts of the *Ṛgveda* were composed in Afghanistan and even beyond that. As Dandekar observed : "the Veda was originally born in the Balkh region between 2400 and 2000 B.C., though its priestly revision, obscuration, division and arrangement into family-collections were accomplished later in the land of the Seven Rivers"[193]. Considering the linguistic aspects of the Veda Edgerton has pointed out that the later hymn-makers, who revised the Veda, were members of a priestly guild and were very proud of their status. They purposely used an archaic-looking priestly artificial dialect, which was different from their vernacular.[194] In this process of rivision a great deal of un-Aryan matter was introduced in the Veda. Przyluski has identified three culture-complexes in Vedic thought. He calls them Austro-Asiatic, Mesopotamian and Aryan and ascribes to them the maritime, triadist and dualist conception of the cosmos respectively. When the sun is represented as a bird, the Austro-Asiatic complex becomes manifest, when he is described as a wheel, the urban Mesopotamian conception comes into play, when he is called a horse the (nomad) Aryan thought-picture comes to the forefront.[195] Ordinarily 'there is a synthesis of the nomadic cult of the open sky and the sedentary religion of the Mother Goddess[196] in the imageries of the Vedas. The solar deities are brought into harmony with the sons of the Mother Goddess Aditi, the Ādityas. The great god Daus Pitṛ (Zues or Jupiter) is thus connected with the First Āditya Asura Varuṇa. Even the typically Aryan god Indra is described as the son of the Dāsa Vyaṁsa, whom he killed.[197] Elsewhere the Asura-Tvaṣṭṛ is called the great father of Indra.[198] Indra is also said to

193. R. N. Dankedar, 'The Antecedents and the Early Beginnings of the Vedic Period', *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* (1947) p. 49

194. Franklin Edgerton, 'The Indo-European Semi-vowels' *Language* vol. XIX part 2.

195. Jean Przyluski, 'The Three Factors of Vedic culture' *Indian Culture* Vol. I p. 375.

196. Ralph Turner, *The Great Cultural Traditions* vol. I pp. 108-109

197. *Ṛgveda*, IV, 18, 9.

198. *Ibid*, III 48, 4.

have gone to live among the Asuras being enamoured of a Dānavī Viliśtengā.[199] All these syncretisms point to a calculated and concerted effort on the part of the priests to revise the Veda in the light of un-Aryan beliefs and conceptions.[200] In the words of Przyluski, "the Veda is not a starting-point but rather a culmination. The syncretism, which appears in the hymns, is not merely a mēlange of heterogenous rites and beliefs. It is a learned artificial synthesis, the elements of which have been interpreted, elaborated or even radically transformed so as to reconcile dissimilar or even contradictory conceptions."[201]

10. *The ascendancy of the Brāhmaṇas*

We have seen above that the Pre-Aryan and un-Aryan priestly class was symbolised by Vṛtra. It was through their effort, influence and inspiration that the literature of the *Ṛgveda*, *Yajurveda*, *Sāmaveda* and *Atharvaveda* came into being. In order to study the historical and social aspects of their ascendancy in Pre-Aryan and then in Aryan India it is necessary to hear in mind the social set-up of the Aryans.

The Aryan people were known as '*viś*'. Analogous to this word was '*kṛṣṭi*'. Among them the demarcation of castes had not appeared.[202] Although they elected their

199. *Atharvaveda* VII, 38, 2, *Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā* III, 47, 9

200. S. K. Chatterji, 'Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana Vyāsa and Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva' *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal* (letters) vol. XVI no 1 (1950) Chatterji emphasises the fact that Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana Vyāsa, who gave the final touches to the Vedic canon had un-Aryan blood in his veins. Chatterji's following remarks are worth quoting :

"The service, rendered by Vyāsa to the Indian people at a crucial juncture in their formative stage, was analogous to that, performed by Homer, when the Greek people of history were similarly being formed through a fusion of the Indo-European speaking Hellenes, arrived fiom the North, and the Pre-Indo-European Aegean peoples. Of course, it is understood that Vyāsa Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana is probably only typical of a number of other Vyāsas, collectors, compilers and arrangers of oral literature and oral or written myths and legends, who doubtless ante-dated and post-dated him; just as Homer is only typical of the various poets and singers, who composed and sung lays about the heroes relating to the Trojan and other cycles." (pate 78).

201. Jean Przyluski, 'Op. cit' *Indian Culture* I p. 380.

202. *Vāyupurāṇa* I, 8, 60-62.

वर्णाश्रमव्यवस्थाश्च न तदासन्न संकरः ।
तुल्यरूपायुषः सर्वे अधमोत्तमवर्जिताः ।
सुखप्राया ह्यशोकाश्च उत्पद्यन्ते कृते युगे ।
नित्यप्रहृष्टमनसो महासत्त्वा महाबलाः ।

leaders,[203] yet the latter did not form any closed caste. It is significant that in the early stages the word *kṣatra*, occuring in the neutre singular, denoted a function rather than a caste. Later on, the possessors of kṣatra grew into an aristocracy. They performed their own rites and ceremonies and knew and composed the recitations, meant for them. Nay, every householder was his own priest. The performance of the rites was his bounden duty. But in the Panjab the Vṛtras, the priest-kings, were in the ascendant. They had the monopoly of the sacerdotal lore and wieldod a tremendous influence over the people. Hence the Aryans felt the necessity of winning them over to their side after the cooling of the passions of the initial encounter. Some of the Aryan kings took to the profession of priests and attained high prificiency in it. Viśvāmitra is a classic case of the adoption of the life of a Brāhmaṇa sage by a Kṣatriya ārya.[204] Besides him, Māndhātṛ Yauvanāśvā, Jātukariya, Rathitara, Śaunaka, Ariṣṭasena, Ajamīḍha, Mudgala, Kāśya, Gṛtsamada and many other reputed Aryan kings and chiefs showed a marked preference for the priestly profession and initiated highly respected Brāhmaṇa families. The Puru-Bharata family was known as the matrix of great kings (*kṣatra*) as well as noted Brāhmaṇas (*brahma*).[205] The Brāhmaṇa families of Urukṣaya, Kapi, Gārgya, Priyamedha and Maudgalya, owed their origin to the Paurava family. Atri was the son-in-law of Ṛceyu, an early king of the Paurava dynasty. Likewise, the family of Kāṇvāyana Brahmaṇas sprang from king Ajamīḍha and his wife Keśinī.[206] Another wife of king Ajamīḍha excelled her

203. *Atharvaveda* III, 4, 2.
Yajurveda XX, 9 .
Aitareya Brāhmaṇa VIII, 27.

204. In a verse, instinct with a deep introspective touch, Viśvāmitra observes : (*Ṛgveda* III, 43)

कुविन्मा गोपां करसे जनस्य कुविद्राजानं मघवन्नजीषिन्
कुविन्मा ऋषिं पपिवान्सं सुतस्य कुविन्मे वस्वो अमृतस्य शिक्षाः ।

205. *Vāyu Purāṇa* 99, 278

ब्रह्मक्षत्रयोर्यो योनिर्वंशो देवर्षिसत्कृतः ।

205. *Matsya Purāṇa*, 49. 16

अजमीढस्य केशिन्यां कण्वः समभवत् किल ।
मेघातिथिः सुतस्तस्य तस्मात् काण्वायना द्विजाः ॥

husband in her interest in priestly work. She led the life of a Brāhmaṇa ascetic and spent all her time in sacrificial apartments busy in her religious observances.[207] Even the ancient family of Āngirasa won many recruits from the Āryans.[208] Thus the Brāhmaṇas and the Kṣatriya classes were mobile and inter-connected.[209]

In course of time, the Brahmāṇas began to arrogate to themselves the exclusive right to preserve the sacred lore and perform the ceremonious rites for propitiating the gods. They regarded themselves gods among men or gods in the guise of men.[210] It became obligatory for men to please the gods in heaven by oblations and the gods on earth in the guise of men by fees.[211] The gods did not accept the oblations of a king, who did not engage a priest. Hence it was necessary to obtain the service of a Brāhmaṇa priest in order to make the gods accept the offerings.[212] A Brāhmaṇa was an intermediary between earth and heaven and had the power to transport the whole realms including the kings, armies and peoples to heaven.[213] If displeased, the Brāhmaṇa could cause serious loss or damage

207. *Ibid* 50, 19. 20.
हुत्वाग्निं विधिवत्सा तु पवित्रा मितभोजना ।
अग्निहोत्रकुशेष्वेव सुष्वाप मुनिसत्तमा ॥
तस्यां वै धूम्रवर्णायां अजमीढः समेयिवान् ।

208. *Vāyu Purāṇa* 88, 73.
एते ह्यगिरसः पुत्राः क्षत्रोपेता द्विजातयः ।

209. *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* VIII, 2
ब्रह्माण खलु वै क्षत्रं प्रतिष्ठितम् । क्षत्रे ब्रह्म ।
Ibid, III, 11
ब्रह्म च क्षत्रं च संश्रिते ।

210. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* II, 2, 2, 6
द्वया वै देवाः । देवा अह वै देवाः । अथ ये ब्राह्मणाः शुश्रुवांसोऽनूचानास्ते मनुष्यदेवाः ।

211. *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa* II, 1, 6.
आहुतिभिरेवदेवान् हुतादः प्रीणाति दक्षिणाभिर्मुनुष्यदेवान् । तेऽस्मै प्रीता इषमूर्ज नियच्छन्ति ॥

212. *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* VIII. 24.
न ह वा अपुरोहितस्य राज्ञो देवा अन्नमदन्ति तस्माद्राजा ।
यज्यमानो ब्राह्मणं पुरो दधीत देवा मेऽन्नमदन्निति ।

213. *Ibid.* VIII, 24.
अग्निर्वा एष वैश्वानरः पंचनेमिर्यंत् पुरोहितः । स एवं (राजानं) शान्त-तनुरभिहुतोऽभिप्रीतः स्वर्गं लोकमभिवहति क्षत्रं च बलं च राष्ट्रं च विशं च ।

to the sacrificer and even kill or blind him.[214] The purely professional attitude of the Brāhmaṇa is manifest from the fact that he was on a look-out for a yajamāna just as a craftman was eager for broken objects, which he could mend or a physician was desirous of patients, whom he could cure.[215] The Brāhmaṇa could only be pleased or propitiated with sumptuous gifts and opulent fees. A Yajña could not proceed without fees as a cart could not move without bullocks.[216] In an Agnihotra the fees must be in the shape of gold.[217] If the Yajamāna paid the fees in the form of silver, weeping and mourning was bound to occur in his house within an year.[218] Thus, rolling in wealth and riches, the Brahmaṇa became lazy, sluggish and indolent and the poet ironically exhorted Indra not to slink into inertia like a sacrificing priest.[219]

The ascendancy of the Brāhmaṇas resulted in the crystallisation of the four castes and the consequent loss of mobility and resiliency[220] of early times. Later on, it became an offence for a Śūdra to learn, recite and even hear the Veda.[221] This hide-bound caste-system, which arose from the exigencies of

214. *Ibid* III, 3
यं कामयेत प्राणेनैनं व्यर्धयानीति वायव्यमस्य लुब्धं शंसेत्, ऋचं वा पदं वातीयात् । यं कामयेत चक्षुषैनं व्यर्धयानीति मैत्रावरुणमस्य लुब्धं शंसेत्, ऋचं वा पदं वातीयात् ।

215. *Ṛgveda* IX, 112, 1
तक्षा रिष्टं रुतं भिषग् ब्रह्मा सुन्वन्तमिच्छति ।

216. *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa* VI, 35.
दक्षिणा वै यज्ञानां पुरोगवी । यथा ह् व इदमनोऽपुरोगवं रिष्यति, एवं हैव यज्ञोऽदक्षिणो रिष्यति ।

217. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* II, 2, 3, 28.
तस्य हिरण्यं दक्षिणा । आग्नेयो वा एष यज्ञो भवति ।

218. *Kātyāyana-Śrauta-Sūtra* X; 2, 34.
न रजतं दद्यात् बर्हिषि "पुरास्य संवत्सराद् गृहे रुदन्ती" ति श्रुतेः ।

212. *Ṛgveda* VIII, 92, 30.
मो षु ब्रह्म व तन्द्रयुर्भुवः ।

220. *Ṛgveda* IX, 112, 3
कारुरहं ततो भिषगुपलप्रक्षिणी नना ।

Yajurveda XVIII, p 9 .
सग्धिश्च मे सप्रीतिश्च मे
In this verse there is reference to common feasts, dinners and drinking

221. *Gautama Dharma Sūtra* II, 3, 4
अथ हास्य वेदमुपश्रृण्वतस्त्रपुजतुभ्यां श्रोत्रपरिपूरणमुदाहरणे जिह्वाच्छेदो धारणे शरीरभेदः ।

sacrificial ritual,[222] as it was monopolised by the Brāhmaṇas, had a logical corollary in the four-fold āśrama organisation. There is an old tradition that the old ācāryas observed only one āśrama and that it was Kapila, the son of the Asura Prahlāda, who inaugurated the four āśramas.[223] In fact the perusal of the marriage hymns of the *Ṛgveda* shows that the bridegroom expresses a desire to live happily with the bride amidst his sons and grandsons till the end of his life.[224] There is no trace of the idea of renunciation or sanyāsa in these hymns. Rather the recluses and yatis are looked down upon.[225] But, in course of time, these orders became prevalent among the Aryans also and thus the varṇāśrama dharma became the corner-stone of Indian culture. This social development was due to the influence of the Vṛtras or the un-Aryan people of the Panjab.

As a consequence of the crystallisation of the four castes and the four āśramas, which appear in very late strata of the Vedas[226], the sacred lore was also viewed from the same social

222. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* I, 6, 7

यज्ञनिष्पत्तये सर्वमेतद् ब्रह्मा चकार वै ।
चातुर्वर्ण्यं महाभाग यज्ञसाधनमुत्तमम् ।

223. *Bandhāyana Dharma Sūtra* II, 11, 29-30.

एकाश्रम्यं त्वाचार्याः तत्रोदाहरन्ति । प्राह्लादिर्ह वै कपिलो नामासुर आस । स एतान् भेदांश्चकार तान् मनीषी नाद्रियेत ।

224. *Ṛgveda* X, 85, 36.

गृभ्णामि ते सौभगत्वाय हस्तं मया पत्या जरदष्टिर्यथासः ।

Ibid X, 85, 42 इहैव स्तं मा वि यौष्टं विश्वमायुर्व्यश्नुतम् । क्रीडन्तौ पुत्रैर्नप्तृभि र्मोदमानौ स्वे गृहे ।

Atharva-veda XIV, 1, 52.

ममेयमस्तु पोष्या मह्यं त्वादात् बृहस्पतिः ।
मया पत्या प्रजावति संजीव शरदः शतम् ॥

225. The expressions '*mokṣa*' '*sanyāsa*' are conspicuous by absence in the *Ṛgveda*. Indra is known as an enemy of the Yatis (*Ṛgveda* X, 72, 7). In the *Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmana* (XVII, 3, 2) the Arhantas are described as ac lass of the Vrātyas. Another class of the Vrātya is known as *sama-nīca-meḍhra* (those whose penis hangs low through control of passion. In *Atharvaveda* (Kāṇḍa XV) Vrātya is associated with austerities.

226. In the early strata of the Veda the Śūdras are not referred to. There is reference to only Brahma & Kṣatra in the neuter denoting functions and to the Viśaḥ meaning the generality of the Aryan community. The dasyus, of cource, stand on a different footing as racially foreign. *Ṛgveda* VIII, 35.

ब्रह्म जिन्वतमुत जिन्वतं धियो । क्षत्रं जिन्वतमुत जिन्वतं नॄन् ।
धेनुर्जिन्वतमुत जिन्वतं विशो ।

P. T. O.

standpoint. Castes were attributed to the gods also : Agni was Brāhmaṇa, Indra and Varuṇa were Kṣatriyas, the Marutas were Vaiśyas. Even metres were associated with castes : gāyatri with Brāhmaṇa, triṣṭubh with Kṣatriya and jagati with Vaiśya.[228] It was held that the words of the hymns were instinct with a divine potency irrespective of their meaning. This doctrine was developed in the Pūrva-Mīmānsā school to its logical conclusion and it was believed that the mantras were the gods themselves. Yāska enunciated this view in his remark that, according to the Yājñika conception, the mantras had no meaning. By uttering a mantra to its proper accent one could perform miraculous feats. According to the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, one could rout the armies of enemies by throwing at them a blade of grass, sanctified by the recitation of a mantra.[229] Thus ritual became magic. Its efficacy consisted in the meticulous collection and cleaning of sacrificial vessels and materials.[230] Even slight inaccuracies requ-ired expiations. The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (ch. 32) prescribes expiations, if the cow, whose milk is to be used in the agnihotra, bellows or kicks or the milk oozes down while heating.

But in the famous *Puruṣa Sūkta* the Śūdras are mentioned as a social class. Thereafter they are regularly mentioned. *Yajurveda* (Vajasneyi Samhitā) XVIII, 48.

रुचं नो धेहि ब्राह्मणेषु रुचं राजसु नस्कृधि ।
रुचं विश्येषु शूद्रेषु मयि धेहि रुचा रुचम् ।.

In course of time the dichotomy of Ārya and Dāsa was replaced by that of Ārya and Śūdra : *Yajurveda* XXVI, 2

यथेमां वाचं कल्याणीमावदानि जनेभ्यः ।
ब्रह्मराजन्याभ्यां ऌ शूद्राय चार्याय च ।

Atharvaveda XIX, 62, 1

प्रियं मा कृणु देवेषु प्रियं राजसु मा कृणु ।
प्रियं सर्वस्य पश्यत उत शूद्र उतार्ये ।

227. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* I, 3, 3, 19.

ब्रह्माग्नि : *Ibid* II, 5, 2, 6 क्षत्रं वै वरुणो विशो मरुतः; II, 5, 2, 27 क्षत्रं वा इन्द्रो विशो मरुतः ।

228. *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* I, 28.

गायत्रो वै ब्राह्मणः, त्रैष्टुभो वै राजन्यः, जागतो दै वैश्यः ।

229. *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa* III, 22

सा सेना भज्यमाना निलीयमानैति यत्रैवं विद्वांस्तृणमुभयतः परिच्छिद्येतरां सेनामभ्यस्यति ।

230. *Sátapatha Brāhmaṇa* I, 3, 1, 9

People were named after sacrificial objects. Kūrca, Kuśa, Suhotra, Veṇuhotra, Vītihotra, Somaśravas, Sutapā, Mīḍhavā, Marutta, Somadatta, Devarāta are typical personal names of this period. To sum up, the Vedic religion became a dry system of ritual accuracies and ceremonial intricacies in the hands of the Brāhmaṇas. The ordinary householder or sacri ficer could not make head or tail of this ritual. He fell a prey to the priests. Therefore, it is stated in a passage of the *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa* that the priests throw the yajmānas into the pits, snatch their money and make off just as the robbers or free-booters or niṣādas waylay the wealthy people in the forests, throw them into pits, appropriate their money and take to their heels.[231] According to Janamejaya Pārikṣita, who is said to have made the above remark, the tactics of these priests were no better than those of robbers. Hence he him-self claimed to have performed his sacrifices.

11. *The conflict of the Kṣatriyas and the Brāhmaṇas.*

The above reference to the remark of Janamejaya Pārik-ṣita that the sacrificing priests (ṛtvijaḥ) are robbers relates to the estrangement and conflict of this king and the Brāhma ṇas.[232] It is well-known that he himself performed two Aśvamedha and one Vājasneya sacrifices.[233] According to the *Vāyu Purāṇa,* he killed a Brāhmaṇa boy of the Gārgya family[234] and his brothers killed a number of puffed up Brāhma-ṇas and foiled their designs. Likewise, Viśvantara Sauṣadmana quarrelled with the Śyāparṇas and exluded them from his sacrifices. In a passage of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* the scene of this conflict is dramatically portrayed. Its brawl and scuffle, its noise and panic, its sharp tones and flashing retorts live forever in this narrative :

231. *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* VIII, 11
यथा ह वा इदं निषादा वा सेलगा वा पापकृतो वा वित्तवन्तं पुरुषमरण्ये गृहीत्वा कर्तमन्वस्य वित्तमादाय द्रवन्ति, एवमेव त ऋत्विजो यजमानं कर्तमन्वस्य वित्तमादाय द्रवन्ति यमेवंविदो याजयन्ति । एतद्ध स्म वै तद्विदानाह जनमेजयः पारीक्षितः एवंविदं हि वै मामेवंविदो याजयन्ति तस्मादहं जयामि ।

232. *Kanṭiliya Arthaśāstra* I, 3 ed. R. shamarastri p. 11.
कोपाज्जनमेजयो ब्राह्मणेषु विक्रान्तः ।

233. *Matsya Purāṇa* I, 63, 64 *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* VII, 27.

234. *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* VII, 27 translated by A. B. Keith, *Ṛgveda Brāhmaṇas* p. 314.

"Viśvantara Sauṣadmana, despising the Śyāparṇas, performed a sacrifice without them. Perceiving this, the Śyāparṇas went to the sacrifice and sat within the altar. Seeing this, he said, "There sit those of evil deed, speakers of impure speech, the Śyāparnas; remove them, let them not sit within my altar." They removed them. They cried aloud, "Heroes had the Kāśyapas among them in the Asitamṛgas, who at the sacrifice, from which Janamejaya Pārīkṣita exluded the Kāśyapas, won the soma-drink from the Bhūtavīras, what hero have we among us, who will win this soma-drinking ?" "I am the hero for you", said Rāma Mārgaveya. When they were rising up, he said, "can it be that they are removing, oh king ! from the altar one, who knows thus ?" "What is that thou knowest, oh worthless brāhmaṇa......".........he replied............................."[235]

In this movement to foil the designs of the Brāhmaṇas to form an exclusive caste of their own and monopolise the sacerdotal lore, which they had ritualised, the celebrated Aryan family of the Ailas played a prominent part. Purūravas Aila was the son of a ruler, who had migrated from Bāhlīka (Bactria) in central Asia to Mid-India, as we learn from the *Rāmāyaṇa* (VII, 90, 21-23). He could not brook the egotism and pretensions of the priestly class, which claimed superiority over others by reason of its religious attainments. A tradition, recorded in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, shows that he was deadly against the four-fold caste organisation or cāturvarṇya.[236] We learn from the *Mahābharata* that he made war on the Brahmaṇas and robbed them of their jewellry and wealth.[237] Hence the Brāhmaṇas and those earlier Aryans, who had sided with them, like the Aikṣvākavas, ostracised the Ailas, as is manifest from the fact that while eastern and southern kings and rulers of the distant Panjab were invited to Daśaratha's sacrifice at Ayodhyā, none of the neighbouring Paurava and Bharata kings was invited. Gradually, the resistance of the Brāhmaṇas stiffened and took an aggressive form under the leadership of the Bhārgavas and notably of Paraśurāma. They

235. *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* I, 3, (ed. R. Shamasastri) p. 11
लोभादैलश्चातुर्वर्ण्यमत्याहारयमाणः ।

236. *Mahābhārata* VII, 67.

237. Hemacandra., *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita* VI, 4

picked up a quarrel with the Ailas on a very ticklish issue. Arjuna Kārtavīrya, somehow, carried away a calf belonging to the hermitage of Jamadagni. Thereupon, Paraśurāma killed Arjuna Kārtavīrya. Arjuna's sons avenged the death of their father by murdering Jamadagni. Parasurama, then, launched a war of vengeance against the Haihayas and is said in the Purāṇas to have totally exterminated the Kṣatriya dynasties of North India. But the Kṣatriyas were not slow in their revenge. Their traditions, surviving in the fragmentary legends of the Jainas,[238] show that Subhūma, the son of Arjuna Kārtavīrya killed Paraśurāma and exterminated the Brāhmaṇas of India twenty-one times. This legend may be a Kṣatriya form of the Brāhmaṇa tradition of the Purāṇas, but it hints at the offensive of the Kṣatriyas against the Brāhmaṇas. In the Cambodian and Siamese Rāmāyaṇa the conflict of Arjuna Kārtavīrya (Yarjuna) and Paraśurāma (Rāmāsura) centres round a jewel, possessed by the Sea-Goddess Manimekhalai. Though Paraśurāma is there described as the victor, yet he is viewed as an aggressor and hence looked down upon as a fiend. The sympathy of the poets of Greater India is with Arjuna.[239] The stress of these wars destroyed the isolationism of the Brāhmaṇas and cast them in a progressive mould. F.E. Pargiter has described the influence of the Ailas on the Brāhmaṇas as follows :—

"The Aila kings appear to have been their own sacrificers and the Brāhmaṇas, on becoming established among them, assimilated Aila religious ideas and rituals and Aila princes also became Brāhmaṇa priests. Brahmanism, thus gradually changed its character and became the well-known system, priestly not magical, which took its great development among the Bharatas, as displayed especially in the Ṛgvedic hymns of the times of Vṛdhyaśva, Divodāsa and their successors. The infusion of royal scions into the ranks of the Brāhmaṇas must have enhanced Brāhmanahood greatly and also, no doubt, modified it and therefrom arose a fresh, vigorous and

238. Sylvain Levi, 'On Manimekhalai, the Guardian Deity of the Sea' *Indian Historical Quarterly* vol VII (1931) pp. 173-175. Sylvain Levi, 'More on Manimekhalai', *Indian Historical Quarterly* VII (1931) pp. 371-376.

239. F. E. Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition* p. 340.

illustrious development of it with apparently a strong stimulus to sacrificial worship".[240]

Even in Brāhmaṇa circles there was a revolt against the strictly ritual and sacerdotal interpretation of the Veda. The Nairuktas registered their protest against this view of the Veda. Though they subscribed to naturalism, they also adhered to rationalism and insisted upon a correct and literal understanding of the hymns. Yāska, who enunciated the views of this school, stated that when the generation of the ṛṣis came to an end, men approached the gods and asked them as to who will be their ṛṣi in future, whereupon the latter gave the reasoning intellect to men to do duty for the ṛṣis.[241] Following the rationalist trend of thought it was necessary to conclude that "a person who studies the Vedas without knowing their meaning is like the trunk of a tree, which bears the burden of foliage for nothing."[242] Thus Yāska did not see eye to eye with the ritualists, who regarded the Vedas as devoid of any meaning.

Another attack on the ritualists came from the moralists, who emphasised moral virtues and self-discipline in preference to sacrificial rituals and outward observances. In the Āraṇyakas and the Upaniṣads this trend of thought became predominant. The Yajñas were regarded as frail boats, on which no reliance could be placed[243] and the persons, who pinned their faith to them, were deemed to be immersed in ignorance and darkness like blindmen, led by those, who are themselves blind.[244] Thus

240. *Nirukta*, Pariśiṣṭa

मनुष्या वा ऋषिषूत्क्रामत्सु देवानब्रुवन् को न ऋषिर्भविष्यतीति तेभ्य एत तर्कमृषिं प्रायच्छन् ।

241. *Nirukta* I, 18.

स्थाणुरयं भारहारः किलाभूदधीत्य वेदं न विजानाति योऽर्थम् ।
योऽर्थज्ञ इत्सकलं भद्रमश्नुते नाकमेति ज्ञानविधूतपाप्मा ॥

242. *Muṇḍakopaniṣad* I, 2, 7,

प्लवा ह्येतेऽदृढ़ा यज्ञरूपा अष्टादशोक्तमवरं येषु कर्म ।
एतच्छ्रेयो येऽभिनन्दन्ति मूढ़ा जरामृत्युं ते पुनरेवापि यान्ति ॥

243. *Katha Upaniṣad* I, 2, 5.

अविद्यायामन्तरे वर्तमाना : स्वयं धीराः पण्डितं मन्यमानाः ।
दन्द्रम्यमाणाः परियान्ति मूढा अन्धेनैव नीयमाना यथान्धाः ॥

we observe that the Indra-Vṛtra dichotomy was transformed into a Kṣatriya-Brāhmaṇa antagonism.

After considering the social aspects of the history of the Panjab in the period of the coming of the Aryans we proceed to study the tribal grouping and fusion of this period in the next chapter.

CHAPTER III

THE FUSION OF INDO-IRANIAN TRIBES IN THE VEDIC AGE

1. *The advent of the Aryans.*

The *Ṛgveda* records the advent of the Aryans in the Land of the Seven Rivers (Saptasindhu).[1]

These Aryans lived with their Iranian brethren in a common homeland, which is known as *Eranvej* in the Avesta. Eduard Meyer locates this region in the Pamirs and Ernst Herzfeld identifies it with the vast plains of the Oxus and Jaxartes, which represent the rivers Vahvī-datiyā and Ranhā of Eranvej.[2] From this homeland the cultured, settled and steady groups, characterized by the *Asura* religion, passed into Iran, and the uncouth, nomadic and predatory clans, practising the *Daiva* cult, glided through the north-western passes into the Panjab.[3] Though there was an antagonism between these two branches of the Indo-Iranian peoples, symbolised in the denunciation of the, *Daivas* in Iran and the condemnation of the *Asuras* in India, the contacts between them were not altogether snapped and the migrations of tribes kept up the process of their fusion in the Panjab.

1. *Ṛgveda* II. 12, 3,

यो हत्वाहिमरिणात्सप्तसिन्धून्यो गा उदाजत् अपधा बलस्य ।

The Land of Seven Rivers (Saptasindhu) of the Vedic Age has a unique resemblance with the 'Land of the Seven Rivers' (Jiti-Su), which denotes the basins of the lakes Issik-Kul and Balkash with some areas in the west. The Turkish name Jiti-Su (seven rivers) has been translated into Russian as Semirechye and the territory, included in it, is now divided between the Soviet Republics of Qazākastān and Kirghizistan. (V. V. Barthold, *Four Studies on the History of Central Asia* tr. by V. and T. Minorsky (Leiden) Vol. 1 p. XIII) Though it is conjectural to suggest that the Indian nomenclature Saptasindhu is derived from the Central Asiatic designation Jiti-Su, the resemblance of these names has some significance for the comprehension of the movements of the Aryan people. K.C. Chattopadhyaya thinks that Semirechye was the cradle of the Indra-Vṛtra myth being characterised by a cult based on serpent mythology. ('The Cradle of the Indra-Vṛtra Myth', *Proceedings of the Sixth All India Oriental Conference* pp. 529-533).

2. Ernst Herzfeld, *Iran in the Ancient East* p. 190.

3. A. Christensen, *Kulturgeschichte des Alten Orients* pp. 211-12.

2. *The round of invasions and the Battle of Ten Kings.*

Though the Aryan invaders sang some of the Vedic odes in praise of their heroic god Indra on the spurs of the mountains of Afghanistan and their priests composed and recited some invocations to gods in the fertile plains of the Panjab, it is almost certain that the poetry of the *Ṛgveda* crystallised in the lands of the Sarasvatī (Sarsuti between the Sutlej and the Jumna), Dṛṣadvatī (Chautang) and Apāyā (a river near Thanesar), which came to be known as Brahmāvarta.[4] Hence this Veda has not preserved any reminiscence of earlier migrations save some stray hints about tribal conflicts, in which scholars have traced the references to the movements of some peoples.

In early times we come across a group of five tribes: Krivi, Turvaśa, Keśin, Sṛñjaya and Somaka. H. C. Raychaudhury has suggested their identification with the Pañcālas.[5] In this grouping the Krivis appear to be an indigenous serpent-worshipping people of the Indo-Iranian borderlands, as shown by Kasten Rönnow.[6] The Turvaśas seem to represent a confederacy of the Tur and the Vaśa, who were of foreign origin. It is significant that in the *Matsyapurāṇa* (ch. 35) and the *Mahābhārata* (I, 85) the Yavanas are said to be the descendants of Turvasu. H. K. Deb tries to identify the Turvaśas with the Teresh, one of the allied peoples, who fought against Mineptah and Rameses III about 1200 B. C.[7] Breasted identifies the Teresh with the Etruscans.[8] The Keśins are definitely the Kassites, who played a leading part in the history of Mesopotamia. According to Schafer, the Sṛñjayas are the Parthians, as is manifest from the fact that they were led by a prince, named Pārthava, mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*.[9] But the Sṛñjayas are the same as the Sarañgai

4. A. B. Keith, 'The Age of the Ṛgveda' *Cambridge History of India* Vol. 1. p. 72.

5. H. C. Raychaudhury, *Political History of Ancient India* (5th edition) p. 71.

6. Kasten Rönnow, 'Vedic Krivi', *Acta Orientalia* Vol. XVI pp. 161-180.

7. H. K. Deb, 'Vedic India and the Middle East', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal* (1948) Vol. XIV (letters) pp. 138-139.

8. Breasted, *A History of Egypt* p. 467.

9. R. Schafer, *Ethnography of Ancient India* p. 138.

of Herodotus, Zrañka of the Achaemenian inscriptions, Sir-re-an-ke of Elamite records, Saraggoi of Arrian and Draggiane of Strabo, whose name was borne by the region, called Seistan in later times. The Somakas are the people, practising the Soma ritual, like the Saka Haumavarga of Achaemenian records and Herodotus, the words *somaka* and *haumavarga* being synonymous. Thus we observe that the 'five tribes' included the Kassites, Drangians, Turas and Scyths in their confederacy.

We know that an Aryo-Kassite confederacy invaded Babylonia during the reign of Samsuiluna (1748-1711), the successor of Hammurabi (1792-1750). The Kassites had assimilated Aryan cultural elements, as the use of the word *Śurias*, current among them, shows.[10] In fact, the white captives of Media, sold at Babylon, mentioned by Berosus, refer to the Aryan associates of the Kassites. In the round of invasions of Babylonia, which started in the eighteenth century B.C., quite a large number of races and tribes, including the Kassites, the Medes and the Aryans, participated.[11] It appears that a section of the Aryo-Kassite peoples, who invaded Babylonia in the eighteenth century, pressed into India, near about the same time. This is a plausible explanation of the inclusion of the Keśins among the Pañcālas. Later on, however, this history was forgotten and the constituents of the Pañcālas were differently mentioned in the Purāṇas as Mudgala, Sṛñjaya, Bṛhadiṣu, Yavīnara and Kṛmilāśva.

We gather from Vedic literature that wave after wave of north-western peoples came and clashed with the people of the Panjab and the Gangetic valley. There are some references to such events in the Vedas. One episode of this type is the Battle of Ten Kings (dāśa-rājña-yuddha) on the Paruṣṇi (modern Ravi), alluded to in the seventh maṇḍala of the *Ṛg-veda*.[12] The victory of the Bharata King Sudās in the regions

10. J. Kennedy, *The Early Commerce of Babylon with India* (1898) p. 262.

11. Hugo Winckler, *The World's History* ed. A. F. Helmott (Eng. tr.) Vol. III. p. 14. *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. I p. 552.

12. *Ṛgveda* VII, 83, 8,

दाशराज्ञे परियत्ताय विश्वतः सुदास इन्द्रावरुणावशिक्षतम् ।
श्वित्यञ्चो यत्र नमसा कपर्दिनो धिया धीवन्तो असपन्त तृत्सवः ॥

Several attempts have been recently made to identify the Battle of Ten Kings with the war of the Pañcāla King Sudās and the Bharata King Saṃvaraṇa, described in *Mahābhārata* (1, 89, 31-41) (F. E. Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p. 281.

of Vipaś (Beas) and Śutudri (Sutlej) under the aegis of Viśvāmitra and his later success against the ten tribes, Anu, Druhyu, Yadu, Turvaśa, Puru, Alina, Paktha, Bhalāṇa, Śiva and Viṣāṇin, under the guidance of Vaśiṣṭha, show that he had to deal with frẹsh invasions of Aryan hordes from the north-west. In this aggregation of tribes there was a significant admixture of Iranian elements. The Purus, who led this confederacy, had a name of Iranian affinity. The word '*puru*' occurs in the Avesta as '*pouru*' and in the Naksh-i-Rustam inscription of Darius I as '*paru*'. It connotes the idea of abundance and multitudinousness. The clans of the Purus appear to have acquired this name by virtue of their overwhelming numbers and irresistible might, as I have suggested elsewhere.[13] The Purus settled between the Aśikni and the Paruṣṇi, whence they launched their ouslaught on the Bharatas, and, after the initial rebuff in the dāśarājña war, soon recouped and resumed their march on the Yamunā and the Sarasvatī and subsequently merged with the Bharatas. Some of their offshoots lingered on in the Panjab and one of their scions played a notable part in the events of the time of Alexander's invasion. They probably survive in the Panjab under the name of *Puri*, which is a sub-caste of the Khatris. As regards the Yadus they are intimately associated with the Parśus[14] and are said to have come from a distant land together with their confrères, the Turvaśa.[15] The Turvaśas were probably the same as the

Altekar, *Journal of the Banaras Hindu University* IV pp. 200-201; *Presidential Address to the Archaic Section of the Indian History Congress*, *Calcutta* (1939): A.D. Pusalkar, '*Dāśarājña: A New Approach*', *Bhāraitya Vidyā* Vol. X. 1949 pp. 70-79; S. N. Pradhan, *Chronology of Ancient India* pp. 83-98). The mere similarity of the name of Vedic Sudās and his Pañcāla namesake does not warrant the identification of the two episodes. In fact, there are so many discrepancies between the respective accounts that one is at a loss to understand how they can be harmonized. The battle, mentioned in the Mahābhārata, took place somewhere near the Yamunā, whence the Bharata King had to flee in exile to the Indus, whereas the Vedic war occurred on the Paruṣṇi; the epic account knows nothing of the ten confederates prominent in the Veda; In the Vedic version Vaśiṣṭha is the Purohita of Sudās, whereas in the epic narrative he assumes the leadership of his rival Samvaraṇa; in the Mahābhārata Sudās is not mentioned by name, there being a reference to one Pāñcālya only; even Sudās of the Purāṇic tradition is the son of Cyavana Pañcajana, whilst Ṛgvedic Sudās had one Pijavana for his father.

13. Buddha Prakash 'Poros', *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* Vol. XXXII (1951) pp. 199-200.

14. *Ṛgveda* VIII, 6, 46.

15. *Ṛgveda* 1, 36, 18; VI, 45, 1. Macdonell & Keith, *Vedic Index* Vol 385.

Tūrā, who are mentioned with the Ariyā, Sairimā (Sarmatai), Sāinavā and Dahā in the Avesta. They are counted among the Iranian nomad peoples of the Central Asian Steppe, who gave Zarathustra a good reception.[16] A district of Khwarazm bore the name Tūr in the Sassanian age.[17] A section of the Tūrā accompanied the Sarmatians in their westward migration north of the Caspian Sea[18] Another section of the Tūrā must have mounted the Iranian plateau and then moved south-east, for in the Abbasid period a district in eastern Baluchistan in the neighbourhood of the modern Khanate of Qalat bore the name Turan.[19] In the present century a community of Tūris lived near the Suleiman Mountains in the upper valley of the Kurram river, immediately to the south of the Kabul valley. These Tūris are said to have been pastoral nomads, who migrated twice a year between summer pastures in the Kurram valley and winter pastures round Qalabagh on the west bank of the Indus north of the Salt Range.[20] The Tūris have bequeathed their national legend to an epic poetry, current in those regions. These Tūris are the remnants of the ancient Turvaśas. The Druhyus also belonged to the North-West[21] and the *Purāṇas* represent the Gandhāra princes as the descendants of their progenitor Druhyu.[22] Thus it is clear that the five tribes (Pañcajanāḥ), comprising the Purus, Anu, Yadu, Turvaśa and Druhyu, contained prominent Iranian elements. As for the five other tribes, the Alinas may stand for the Alains or Sarmatians, who played a leading part in later times; the Pakthas are manifestly the Pakhtoons of the north-western regions; the Bhalāṇa are some people bearing a name akin to that of the Bolan pass, thereby suggesting that they belonged to that region or passed through it; the Śiva are the Siboi of Greek writers, who are connected with the Uśinara and whose town Śivapura, mentioned by Patañjali (IV, 2, 2), is identical with Sivipura,

16. H. S. Nyberg, *Die Religionen des alten Iran* (Leipzig 1938) pp. 237, 249-51.

17. *Ibid.* p. 251.

18. *Ibid.* pp. 237-251.

19. G. le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* pp. 331-32.

20. T. L. Pennell, *Among the Wild Tribes of the Afghan Frontier* (London 1912) pp. 55-56.

21. *Vedic Index.* Vol. I p. 385.

22. *Matsyapurāṇa* 48, 6; *Vāyupurāṇa* 99, 9.

referred to in a Shorkot inscription, which shows that they inhabited this region in Jhang between the Irāvatī and the Candrabhāgā;[23] and the Visāṇinas are probably the people, called Sṛngala in the *Harivaṁśapurāṇa* (Viṣṇuparvan 65, 15-20) and Sṛngin in the *Mahābhārata* (II, 47, 26). It is noteworthy that several persons, depicted in the art of Mathura, are shown as wearing headdresses, consisting of ram's horns. They are a foreign people of northern origin. Thus we observe that the tides of invasions and migrations in the Vedic period had strong Iranian and Bactrian currents, which merged in the multitudinous tribal confluence of the Panjab and thence rolled towards the East.

3. *The merger of the Puru-Bharatas in the Völkerwanderung of the Kurus.*

The Purus and the Bharatas gradually merged in the great complex of peoples, known as the Kurus. A Ṛgvedic hymn (x,33,4) refers to Kuru-Śravaṇa as a descendant of the formons Puru King Trāsadasyu. The merger of the Bharatas with the Kurus is proved by the expression reading *kuravo nāma bhāratāḥ* occurring in the *Mahābhārata* (XII, 349, 44). In the formation of the Kurus the Irano-Bactrian elements played a notable part. The tradition of the branching off of the Kurus from their parent body, known as the Uttarakuru, located in the Himalayas, suggests that there was a Völkerwandering of the Kurus through the North-West, which swept as far as the valley of the Yamunā.[24] It is significant that a town in Sogdiana still bears the name Kurkath and an Achaemenian

23. Cuuningham, *Ancient Geography of India* p. 669; B.C. Law, *Historical Geography of Ancient India*

24. In the *Papañcasūdani* of Buddhaghoṣa, the Kurus are stated to have migrated from the Trans-Himlayan region known as Uttarakuru. (*Papañcasūdani* Vol. 1 p. 434; *Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā* Vol. 2. p. 482; G. P. Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names* Vol. 2 p. 236; B. C. Law, *Ancient Mid-Indian Kṣatriya Tribes* p. 16.) It is significant that the Kurus of the Madhyadeśa are called Dakṣiṇa-Kurus in the *Mahābhārata* (1,109,10), evidently in contradistinction to the Uttarakurus of the North.

उत्तरैः कुरुभिः सार्धं दक्षिणाः कुरवस्तथा ।
विस्पर्धमाना व्यचरंस्तथा देवर्षिचारणैः ॥

This shows that there was an interconnection between the Kurus of the North and the South. A Kuru ruler Prātīpeya bore the suggestive surname Bālhīka. The *Mahābhārata* associated the Prātipeyas of the Kuru assembly with the Bālhīkas. According to the Rāmāyaṇa, Pururavas Aila, the proge-

emperor, who directed his arms towards the Panjab, was called Kuruś (Cyrus). In fact, two kings of the Parsuwaś-Anśan branch of the Achaemenians were named Kurus.[25] In view of these facts, it is likely that a people of Iranian affiliations migrated to the Panjab and the region of the Sarasvatī at a time, when the Purus and the Bharatas were mixing and merging with each other, and dominated this process of tribal fusion, resulting in the emergence of the Kurus. These Kurus of India were, perhaps, the left wing of an ex-Eurasian nomad people, whose right wing had given its name to the river *Kur* in Transcaucasia to the north-west of Panzis. The left wing of the Kurus came via Bactria to the Panjab and commanded the strategic plain between the Sarasvatī and the Yamunā near the north-eastern edge of the desert of Rajputana, giving it their name *Kurukṣetra*, which gave them the key to the domination of the Gangetic plain; the right wing advanced beyond the river *Kur* and settled in western Anatolia round the confluence between the river Hermus and its right bank tributary, the Phrygius, just to the north of the city of Magnesia-under—Sipylus, which came to be known as the *Koroupedion* or the 'Kuru-plain' like the Indian '*Kurukṣetra*.[26] In Anatolia, as in India, 'the Kuru plain' was a battle field, on which the political fate of a sub-continent was repeatedly decided. This plain of the Kurus, Koroupedion, was the scene of the defeat of Lysimachus by Seleucos Nicator

nitor of the Ailas, whose branch the Kurus were, migrated to the middle country from Bālhi or Bactriana. *Rāmāyaṇa* VII, 90, 21-22-23.

राजा तु बाल्हिमुत्सृज्य मध्यदेशे ह्यनुत्तमम् ।
निवेशयामास पुरं प्रतिष्ठानं यशस्करम् ॥
शशबिन्दुश्च राजर्षिर्बाह्लिं परपुरञ्जयः ।
प्रतिष्ठाने इलो राजा प्रजापतिसुतो बली ॥
स काले प्राप्तवांल्लोकमिलो ब्राह्ममनुत्तमम् ।
ऐलः पुरुरवा राजा प्रतिष्ठानमवाप्तवान् ॥

All these facts leave no room for doubt that the Kurus migrated into India from Bactriana.

25. F. H. Weissbach, *Kyros* in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyolopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Supplement band IV Col. 1128. The association of the Kurus with the Bālhikas is referred to in *Mahābhārata* II, 63,2 Vide *Vedic Index* Vol. II p. 279.

26. K. J. Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte* (2nd. ed.) Vol. IV part II, pp. 458-71.

in 281 B.C. and of Antiochus III by the Romans in 190 B.C., just as Kurukṣetra was the stage of the famous battles of Panipat, which marked the changes in the destiny of India across the ages. These resemblances in the geographical nomenclature of the Kurus throw a flood of light on their Völkerwanderungen in a pincer-movement towards the settled and sedentary communities of the South-East and the North-West from the Central Asiatic heartland. But like all nomads, the Kurus were destined to merge in the racial and cultural complex of India, as of Iran, Transcaspiana and Anatolia.

4. *The culture of Sapta-sindhu.*

In this period of the invasions and migrations of the Purus and Kurus, the North-West and the Panjab were regarded as the home of Vedic culture. Hence we find the Vedic poets waxing eloquent in the praise of the Sapta-sindhu. In the famous hymn of rivers (*Nadīstuti*), contained in *Ṛgveda* (X, 75), the ṛṣi Priyamedha Sindhukṣit, who probably hailed from the Indus region, invokes the favour of Śutudri, (Sutlej), Paruṣṇi, (Ravi), Aśikni (Chenab), Vitastā (Jhelum) Marudvṛdhā (the joint stream of Chenab and Ravi) Arjikiyā (Upper-Indus), Suṣomā (Suwān), Susartu, Rasā, Śvetyā (the tributaries of the Indus), Kubhā (Kabul), Gomati (Gomal), Krumu (Kurram) etc, among the rivers within his purview, and soars to a high pitch of exultation in his reference to the Sindhu. R. T. H. Griffith has translated these verses about the Indus as follows :

"Flashing and whitely gleaming in her mightiness, she moves along her ample volumes through the realms, most active of the active, Sindhu, unrestrained, like to a dappled mare, beautiful, fair to see.........Rich in good steeds is Sindhu, rich in cars and robes, rich in gold nobly fashioned, rich in vigorous mares, Blest Silamāvatī and Young Urṇāvati increst themselves with raiment, rich in store of sweets."[27]

27. *Ṛgveda* (X. 75)
ऋजीत्येनी रुशती महित्वा परिजयांसि भरते रजांसि
अदब्धा सिन्धुरपसामपस्तमाश्वा न चित्रा वपुषीव दर्शता
स्वश्वा सिन्धुः सुरथा सुवासा हिरण्ययी सुकृता वाजिनीवती
उर्णावती युवतिःसीलमावत्युताधिवस्ते सुभगा मधुवृधम्

5. *The glory Of Gandhāra.*

In *Ṛgveda* (1,126,7) the good wool of Gandhāra is mentioned. Gandhāra became a centre of culture and education in the period of the Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads. We learn from the *Kauṣītakī Brāhmaṇa* (VII, 6) that the Brāhmaṇas used to go to the north for purposes of study.[28] The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (XI, 4, 1, 1) informs us that Uddālaka Āruṇi went among the people of the northern country.[29] According to the *Uddālaka Jātaka*, this scholar journeyed to Takṣaśilā in quest of knowledge.[30] The truth of these traditions is avouched by the observations of Uddālaka Āruṇi himself regarding the desirability of going to Gandhāra and studying at the feet of a duly qualified teacher there for the acquisition of knowledge and attainment of liberation, that are recorded in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* (VI, 14). Uddālaka compares a man, who has strayed away from Gandhāra, to a blind-folded man, who clamours for light and finds it neither in the north or south nor in the west and east and at last, when the fold is removed from his eyes, proceeds from village to village, enquires the way and reaches Gandhāra. In his view the career of a man up to Gandhāra is analogous to the ascent of a seeker to spiritual liberation.[31] Later on, Kauṭilya prescribed a fine for a person,

28. *Vedic Index* 11, 276.
29. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* XI, 4, 1, 1.
उदीच्यान्वृतो धावयाञ्चकार
30. *Jātakas* ed Fausböll no 487.
31. *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* VI, 14; S. Radhakrishnan, *The Principal Upaniṣads* pp. 463-464.

यथा, सौम्य, पुरुषं गन्धारेभ्योऽभिनद्धाक्षमानीय तं ततोऽतिजने विसृजेत्, स यथा तत्र प्राङ्‌ वोदङ्‌ वापराङ्‌ वा प्रत्यङ्‌ वा प्रध्मायीता "अभिनद्धाक्ष आनीतोऽभिनद्धाक्षो विसृष्ठः। तस्य यथाभिनहनं प्रमुच्य प्रब्रूयादेतां दिशं गन्धारा एतां दिशं व्रजेति। स ग्रामाद्ग्रामं पृच्छन् पण्डितो मेधावी गन्धारानेवोपसम्पद्येत एवमेवेहाचार्यवान् पुरुषो वेद। तस्य तावदेव चिरं यावन्न विमोक्ष्ये, अथ संपत्स्य इति।

Radhakrishnan has translated this passage as follows :—

"Just as, my dear, one might lead a person away from the Gandhāras with his eyes bandaged and abandon him in a place where there are no human beings, and just as that person would shout towards the east or the north or the south or the west, 'I have been led here with my eyes bandaged, I have been left here with my eyes bandaged,' And as if one released his bandage and told him, 'In that direction are the Gandhāras, go in that direction; thereupon, being informed and capable of judgment, he would be, asking his way from village to village, arrive at Gandhāra; in exactly the same manner does one here, who has a teacher, knows "I shall remain here only so long as I shall not be released (from ignorance). Then I shall reach perfection."

who slanders or vilifies Gandhāra.[32] No richer encomium could possibly be paid to the Indus region in ancient times.

6. *The sanctity of Kekaya.*

As regards the Panjab proper, its fame as a seat of learning was equally great. In the period of the Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads its fertile plains were dominated by the branches of the Anu tribes of *Ṛgvedic* fame, viz Kekaya, Madra and Uśinara, about whom we shall have occasion to say a lot later on. Here it is sufficient to note that the Kekayas, living between the Jhelum and the Chenab, were renowned for their learning, piety and morals in the Upaniṣads. Their King Aśvapati Kekaya was a celebrated scholar and instructed a number of notable Brāhmaṇas, including Āruṇa Aupaveśi, Gautama Satyayajña Pauluṣi, Mahāśāla Jābāla, Buḍila Āśvatarāśvī, Indradyumna Bhāllaveya, Jana Śārkarākṣya, Prācīnaśāla Aupamanyava and Uddālaka Āruṇi.[33] This philosopher-king could verily claim that his kingdom was free from theives, misers, drunkards and irreligious, illiterate and loose-charactered people.[34]

7. *The importance of Madra.*

Below the Kekayas were the Madras. Their capital Śākala (modern Sialkot) lay between the Chenab and the Ravi. The realm of the Madras was also a cradle of Vedic culture and produced eminent Brāhmaṇa teachers like Madragāra Śaungāyani and Patañcala Kāpya, the preceptor of Uddālaka Āruṇi.[35] The episode of Aśvapati and his daughter Sāvitrī in the *Mahābhārata* shows that they were regarded as virtuous in early times.

32. *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* ed. R. Shamasastry p. 194.

प्राज्जूणक–गान्धारादीनां च जनपदोपवादा व्याख्याता: ।

33. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* X, 6, 1, 2; *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* (V, 11, 4) S. Radhakrishnan, *The Principal Upaniṣads* p. 435.

34. *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* V, 11, 5, S. Radhakrishnan, *The Principal Upaniṣads* p. 435.

न मे स्तेनो जनपदे न कदर्यो न मद्यप: ।

नानाहिताग्निर्नाविद्वान्न स्वैरी स्वैरिणी कुत: ॥

35. *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* III, 7, 1; S. Radhakrishnan, *The Principal Upaniṣads*. p. 224, A. Weber, *History of Indian Literature* p. 126.

8. *The purity of Uśinara.*

To the south of the Madras were the Uśinaras, whose realm extended up to Uśinaragiri near Kanakhala near the famous prilgrimage Haradvāra, where the Ganges issues on the plains from the hills. We learn from the *Kauṣītakī Upaniṣad* (IV, 1, 1) that a scholar, named Gārgya Bālāki, who was a contemporary of Janaka of Videha, lived for sometime in the Uśinara country.[36] The *Mahābhārata* (III, 130, 21) represents Uśinara as sacrificing on two small streams near the Yamunā. Śibi, the king of the Uśinaras, is famous for his righteousness in the epic and the Jātakas.[37]

Thus it is clear that in the Vedic and post-Vedic period the North-West and the Panjab were considered as the home of piety and learning, acted as the spring of sacred lore and ritual and provided the models of good morals and righteous conduct.

36. S. Radhakrishnan, *The Principal Upaniṣads* p. 784.

37. *Mahābhārata* XII, 29, 39; *Vedic Index* Vol. 1 p. 103 Fausboll, *Jātaka*, Mahākaṇha Jātaka no. 469, Nimi Jātaka, no. 541; Mahā-nārada-kassapa Jātaka, no. 544.

CHAPTER IV

THE FALL OF THE KURUS AND THE GENESIS OF THE MAHĀBHĀRATA

1. *Current theories about the Mahābhārata.*

The titanic tragedy of the Kurus forms the plot of the *Mahābhārata.* The Great War of Kurukṣetra, in which all the principal ruling houses and tribal groups of northern India participated, is sung with epic grandeur and heroic exuberance in this poem. Holtzmann's theory that this epic is a product of the middle ages[1] has been falsified by epigraphic evidence of the Gupta period.[2] Likewise, the view of Dahlmann that it was composed by one author as a treatise on law in the fifth-sixth centuries B.C. is belied by the heterogenous materials, reflecting different ages and epochs, incorporated in it.[3] In the opinion of Lassen and Weber, the nucleus of the epic centres round the conflicts of the Kurus and the Pañcālas and the episode of the Pāṇḍus is a later addition.[4] This view is endorsed by H. Bruce Hannah, who holds that Pāṇḍava is "a very transient designation, merely serving the purpose of the story, in which we see nothing but yet another of the various protean forms, in which from time to time the name pañcajanāḥ has masqueraded. The tale of the Kauravas and Pañcālas appears to be merely a poetical reminiscence of some more or less effective domination of Kuruland by the Pañcālas, the five

1. Adolf Holtzmann, *Das Mahābhārata und seine Teile* (1892-95)

2. J. F. Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum Vol.* III no. 26. Karitalai Copper Plate inscription of Mahārāja Jayanātha of 174 G.E.—493 A.D. line 13 उक्तं च महाभारते भगवता व्यासेन Cp. Khoh Copper Plate inscription of Jayanātha of 177 G. E.-493 A.D. (Fleet, no 27, line 15; Khoh Copper Plate inscription of Mahārāja Śarvanātha of 214 G.E. (Fleet, no. 31, line 19. उक्तं च महाभारते साहस्र्यां संहितायां परमर्षिणा पराशरसुतेन वेदव्यासेन संव्यासेन

3. J. Dahlmann, *Das Mahābhārata als Epos und Rechtsbuch* (1895); *Geneses des Mahābhārata* (1899).

4. Lassen, *Indische Altertumskunde* Vol. 1 p. 692; Weber, *History of Indian Literature* pp. 114, 186.

tribes."[5] But, in the words of Hopkins, "a *Mahābhārata* without Pāṇḍus is like an Iliad without Achilles and Agememnon."[6] Such a poem does not at all exist. Hopkins himself determined the chronology of the *Mahābhārata* as follows: the Bharata (Kuru) lays were pieced together before 400 B. C., the tale with the Pāṇḍava heroes was formed between 400 and 200 B.C., the epic of Bhāgavata religion with Kṛṣṇa as God grew from 200 B.C. to 200 A.D., the last books and the introduction to the first parvan were composed between 200-400 A.D. and the finishing touches, resulting in the modern amplified edition, were given after 400 A.D.[7] His attempt at identifying a Kuru nucleus is adumbrated in some earlier papers.[8] But his later observation that the *Mahābhārata* without the Pāṇḍus is unknown, cited above, nullifies his theory of the introduction of the Pāṇḍu episode at a later period. In fact, as we shall see, there was an attempt at rewriting the whole work from a Kuru angle of vision in later times, which resulted in the representation of the Pāṇḍavas as the brethren of the Kurus. This aspect became so prominent in the later epic that Raychaudhury subscribes to the fratricidal character of the Great War[9] in utter forgetfulness of the significant absence of any reference to the Pāṇḍus in Vedic or Brāhmaṇa literature. Sylvain Lévi[10] treats the *Māhābhārata* as a Bhāgavata scripture, written under the inspiration of the Buddhist encyclopaedic works, like the *Vinaya* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins. Recently Robert Shafer held that the Great Epic is "essentially the story of native rebellion against Aryan exploitation"[11], a view, which is too speculative to deserve to be examined at length. Equally

5. *Journal of the Department of Letters* (Calcutta University) Vol IX (1923) p. 152.

6. *Cambridge History of India* Vol. 1 p. 226.

7. E. W. Hopkins, *The Great Epic of India, Its Character and Origin* pp. 397-398.

8. E. W. Hopkins, 'The Social and Military Position of the Ruling Caste in Ancient India as represented by the Sanskrit Epic, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*. Vol. XIII, (1889) pp. 67-8; 'The Bhārata and the Great Bhārata,' *American Journal of Philology* Vol XIX (1898) pp. 1-24.

9. H. C. Raychaudhury, *Political History of Ancient India* (5th edition) pp. 40-41.

10. Sylvain Lévi, 'Tato Jayam Udīrayet', *Mémorial Sylvain Lévi* ed. Jacques Bacot pp. 297-298.

11. Robert Schafer, *Ethnography of Ancient India*, pp. 1-5.

conjectural is the theory of Heras that the story of the Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas, narrated in the *Mahābhārata*, is not only pre-Vedic but also pre-Harappan.[12] Of similar nature is the conjecture of H. C. Seth that the account of the *Mahābhārata* Battle is based on the record of the invasion of Gandhāra by Cyrus the Great (Ci 559 B. c-529 B.C.)[13]

2. *The adventitious character of the Pāṇḍavas.*

The *Mahābhārata* is essentially a tale of the conflicts of the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas. We have seen above that the Kauravas emerged from a tribal fusion of the Purus and the Bharatas in the middle country, in which some intruding Iranian elements also played a notable part. As regards the Pāṇḍavas, the first thing, which strikes the eye, is their continuous antagonism and incessant struggle with the Kaur vas. Whereas the Kurus are repeatedly mentioned in Vedic and post-Vedic Brāhmaṇa literature, there is not even the slightest hint to the Pāṇḍus in its vast expanse. Of course, we hear of Parīkṣita in the *Atharvaveda* (XX, 7-10), but he is associated with the Kurus; likewise, his son Janamejaya is spoken of in the *Aitareya* and *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇas*, but there is no suggestion that he was connected with the Pāṇḍavas.[14] The significant reticence of this literature about the Pāṇḍavas and their epic achievements

12. H. Heras, 'The Age of the Mahabharata War'. *Journal of Indian History*. Vol. XXVI, (1948) pp. 19-20.

13. H. C. Seth, 'Cyrus the Great and the Mahābhārata Battle,' *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* (Hyderabad) 1941 pp. 125-127.

14. H. C. Raychaudhury, *Political History of Ancient India* (5th edition) pp. 17-18.

Rev. Heras has published a letter of V. S. Sukthankar in support of his view. But Sukthankar has expressed no such view in his latest published work, entitled '*On the Meaning of the Mahābhārata*'. On the contrary, he has held that the Mahābhārata is a religious treatise. The battle of the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas is a symbol of the struggle of virtue and sin and the dualism of good and evil, which takes place in the soul of man. Thus Sukthankar, after opposing all the symbolic and figurative interpretations of the Great Epic, himself comes to interpret it in terms of symbols. Likewise, Thadani in *The Mystery of the Mahābhārata* regards this work as a symbol of the struggles and connections of the various systems of Indian philosophy. Kṛṣṇa is a symbol of Vedānta, Yoga and Vaiśeṣika philosophy and Droṇa is an emblem of Buddhism, Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika. Vikander holds that the Pāṇḍava heroes symbolise the natural myths of ancient Indo-European age. Bhīma represents the boisterous aspect of force and Arjuna stands for its placid and harmonious aspects (Vikander, 'Pāṇḍava sagan och Mahābhāratas mystika förutsättningar' *Religionen och Bibel* VI (1947) p. 27-39, tran lated in *Jupiter Mars Quirinus* IV (1948) pp. 37-85.).

cannot be explained away by the argument that it is sacerdotal and scholastic in character and is not expected to refer to political episodes. A perusal of the epic clearly bears out that Parīkṣita and Janamejaya, though important personages, were not of such momentous reputation as their so-called ancestors Arjuna and Karna. Yet their names ring in this literature and those of their illustrious predecessors are muffled in oblivion. The only inference that this silence suggests is that the Pāṇḍavas were unknown to the writers of this literature. Not only the Vedic works, but also the Purāṇic traditions are ignorant of the magnitude of the role of the Pāṇḍavas. The Purāṇas refer to the three sons of Kuru, Parīkṣita, Jahnu and Sudhanvan, and mention the former's son Janamejaya and his grandsons, Śrutasena, Ugrasena and Bhīmasena. The accounts then pass on to Jahnu's son Suratha and his descendants, who continued the main Kuru line. These narratives do not accord any significant part to the Pāṇḍavas. Thus the ubiquitous and unbroken silence of both Brāhmaṇa and Kṣatriya traditions about the Pāṇḍavas unmistakably shows that they were strange intruders, having their own legends, which developed into the *Mahābhārata*.

The reticence of the Brāhmaṇa and Kṣatriya traditions about the Pāṇḍavas is in contrast to the eloquence of Buddhist and grammatical works in regard to these heroes. In the *Dasabrāhmaṇa Jātaka* (no. 495) a king of the stock of Yuddhiṭṭhila is said to be reigning in the Kingdom of Kuru at Indapatta. Similarly the *Dhūmakārī Jātaka* (no. 413) speaks of Yuddhiṭṭhila gotta at Indapatta or Indapattana. According to the *Mahāsutasoma Jātaka* (No. 537), the Kuru country was three hundred leagues in extent. The *Kurudhamma Jātaka* (no. 276) *Sambhava Jātaka* (no. 515) and *Vidhurapaṇḍita Jātaka* (no. 545) allude to Dhanañjaya Koravya, which is a designation of Arjuna in the *Mahābhārata*. However, in the Jaina text *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra* the king of the Kuru country, named Iśukāra, is not connected with any Pāṇḍava hero.[15]

In the time of the Jātakas the identification of the Pāṇḍavas with the Kurus, whose process is discernible in epic traditions, was an accomplished fact. However, in the *Kunālaka Jātaka*

15. H. Jocobi *Jaina Sūtras* (*Sacred Books of the East* Vol. XLV). p. 62.

(no. 536) the Pāṇḍavas are distinctly mentioned as a hill tribe practising polyandry.[16] In the Ceylonese chronicle *Mahāvaṁsa* the Pandyas of the South are represented as Pāṇḍus.[17] In the Jaina work *Nāyādhammakahāo* also the Pāṇḍavas are asked by Kaṇha Vāsudeva to repair to Pāṇḍu Mahurā, which is identified with the Pandya country of the South.[18] Similar confused traditions underlie the observations of the Greek envoy Megasthenes regarding the legend of Heracles and Pandaia and the endowment of the southernmost part of India, comprising 365 towns, by him to her.[19]

In grammatical literature, Pāṇḍu is referred to in a Vārtika of Kātyāyana on Pāṇini IV, 1,44. Pāṇini himself mentions Vāsudeva and Arjuna in a sūtra, explaining the addition of the suffix *vuñ* (aka) to these words and the formation of Vāsudevaka and Arjunaka in the sense of a worshipper of Vāsudeva and of Arjuna respectively.[20] He teaches the formation of the words Bhīma and Bhīṣma[21], alludes to Yudhiṣṭhira[22] and Kunti[23] and hints at Duryodhana and Duḥśāsana.[24] His acquaintance with Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana and his pupils Paila and Vaiśampāyana[25] together with the references to the Kurus[26] and the aforesaid characters of the *Mahābhārata* shows that he was familiar with the main outline of the Great Epic.

16. B. C. Law, *India as described in the Early Texts of Buddhism and Jainism* p. 108.

17. *Mahāvamsa* VII, 50; *Dīpavaṁsa* IV, 41.

18. B. C. Law, *Some Jaina Canonical Sūtras* pp. 39, 52.

19. J. W. McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian* pp. 33-35.

20. Pāṇini, *Aṣṭādhyāyī Sūtrapāṭha*. IV, 3, 98. वासुदेवार्जुनाभ्यां वुन्
For comments see R. G. Bhandarkar, *Collected Works* Vol. 1. pp. 214-216; *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems* pp. 4-5; V. S. Agrawala, *India as known to Pāṇini* pp. 359-360, 340.

21. *Ibid*. III, 4, 74 भीमादयोऽपादाने

22. *Ibid*. VIII, 3, 95. गवियुधिस्थिरः ।

23. *Ibid*. IV, 1,176.

24. *Ibid*. III, 3,130 स्त्रियामवन्तिकुरुभ्यश्च

25. *Ibid*. II,4,59 अन्येभ्योऽपि दृश्यन्ते IV, 3, 104 कलापिवैशम्पायनादिभ्यश्च

26. *Ibid*. IV 1,114 पैलादिभ्यश्च
IV,1,169 ऋष्यन्धकवृष्णिकुरुभ्यश्च
साल्वेयगान्धारिभ्यां च

3. *The pale complexion of the Pāṇḍavas.*

The aforesaid references to the Pāṇḍus in Buddhist, Jaina and grammatical works in contrast to their absence in Vedic and post-Vedic Brāhmaṇa literature clearly prove that they emerged into the lime-light much later than the Kurus. Besides this, there are some other traits to distinguish them from the Kurus and mark them out as outlandish and adventitious. The very name Pāṇḍu, suggestive of a yellowish complexion, indicates the ethnic constitution of the Pāṇḍavas. Though a far-fetched explanation of the yellowish complexion of Pāṇḍu is sought to be given in the legend of the turning of his mother pale, when Vyāsa approached to impregnate her, the ethnic connotation of this term can hardly be doubted or disputed. In the epic the golden-hued Kirāta and Cīna, who formed the retinue of the king of Prāgjyotiṣa, named Bhagadatta, are depicted as a forest of karṇikāra flowers (कनेर) in virtue of their yellow complexion.[27] In fact, the Mongoloid peoples of the Himalayan regions were marked by yellow pigment and it is significant that the Pāṇḍavas are also represented as a mountainous tribe in Buddhist works. Thus it is clear that the complexion of Pāṇḍu accentuated the ethnic contrast of the Pāṇḍavas and the Kurus.

4. *The prevalence of polyandry.*

The marital and funeral customs of the Pāṇḍavas also show that they were different from the Kurus. The marriage of Draupadī with the five Pāṇḍava brothers is an evidence of the practice of polyandry among them. Indian law and custom abhor this practice right from the very outset. The *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* looks down upon this custom, though it approves of

27. *Mahābhārata* IV, 35, 2; *Ibid.* V, 584.
कैरातं वेशमास्थाय काञ्चनद्रुमसन्निभम् ।
भगदत्तो महीपालः सेनामक्षौहिणीं ददौ ।
तस्य चीनैः किरातैश्च काञ्चनैरिव संवृतम् ।
बभौ बलमनाधृष्यां कर्णिकारवनं यथा ॥
Cp. *Rāmāyaṇa*, Kiṣkindhā-Kāṇḍa 40, 27-28.
किरातश्च तीक्ष्णचूडाश्च हेमाभाः प्रियदर्शनाः ।
अन्तर्जलचरा घोरा नरव्याघ्रा इति श्रुताः ॥

polygamy.[28] Even the people of the Mahābhārata age were aghast at this polyandrous marriage; King Drupada expressed his dismay at this proposal, calling it illegal, contrary to moral conduct and unknown to both sacerdotal and secular usage.[29] But Yudhiṣṭhira defended it as his ancient tradition, which he had to follow, irrespective of the abstruse considerations of morality.[30] His argument leaves no room for doubt that polyandry was an established custom of the Pāṇḍavas and the attempt of the later editor of the epic to explain it away as a too literal interpretation of the injunction of Kunti to eat together what has been obtained wears thinner. We learn from Herodotus (1,216) that the Massagaetes (मशक) had a custom of holding their wives in common. The Hephthalites are also known to be practising polyandry. "They have a custom, by which elder and younger brother both marry one wife. If one has no elder or younger brother, his wife wears a one-horned hat. If one has brothers, horns are added to the hat, according to their number." (*Chou-shu* 50, 14 b) In Tokharistan, Kapiśa, Bamiyan and Zabulistan, countries with a large Hephthalite population, "ten, five, three or two brothers together marry one woman" [*Hui-ch'ao wang wu t'ien chu huo chuan* tr. W. Fuchs, cited by Otto Maenchen-Helfen, 'The Ethnic Name Hun', *Studia Serica Bernhard Karlgren Dedicata* [Copenhagen 1959) p. 234]. The fact that the Pāṇḍavas shared their custom shows that they also hailed from the same northern regions.

5. *The practice of sati.*

Like polyandry, the custom of *sati* among the Pāṇḍavas smacks of strangeness from the Indian standpoint. On the death of Pāṇḍu his wife Mādri ascended his funeral pyre and

28. *Yajurveda; Taittirīya Saṁhitā* (VI, 6, 4, 3)
यन्नैकां रशनां द्वयोर्यूपयोः परिव्ययति तस्मान्नैका द्वौ पती विन्दते ।

29. *Mahābhārata* 1,210,27
सोऽयं न लोके वेदे वा जातु धर्मः प्रशस्यते ।
लोकधर्मविरुद्धं तं नाधर्मं धर्मविच्छुचिः ॥

30. *Mahābhārata* ,210,29
सूक्ष्मो धर्मो महाराज नास्य विद्मो वयं गतिम् ।
पूर्वेषामनुपूर्वेण यातं वर्त्मानुयामहे ॥

Vide, Rāhula Sāṅkrityāyana, *Madhya Asia kā Itihāsa* (in Hindi) Vol. I p. 68 for group marriages and polyandrous marriages among the Śakas.

became sati.[31] On that occasion she was addressed by the significant epithet Bālhīki[32], perhaps, to emphasize her adherence to a Bactrian rite. On the other hand, among the Kurus the widows did not burn themselves with the remains of their husbands, though weapons, costumes and chariots were consigned to the flames on their pyres. Rather the widows survived to offer them funeral oblations, as we learn from chapters 31-33 of the *Strīparvan*. As for Gāndhārī and Dhṛtarāṣṭra, both of them were consumed by fire in the forest, there being no indication that the death of the former was by way of *sati*. Thus there is a marked difference between the Kurus and the Pāṇḍavas from this viewpoint.

6. *The ethnic distinction between the Kurus and the Pāṇḍavas.*

We have observed above that an ethnic and social difference underlies the Kurus and the Pāṇḍus despite the frantic effort of the epic editor to blanket it and represent them as branches of the same family. Let us now enquire as to who were the Pāṇḍavas and what tribal connotation and ethnic symbolism underlies the conception of the five brothers.

7. *Arjuna and the Central Asiatic states of Kuoa and Karashahr.*

The hero of the Pāṇḍava saga is Arjuna. He dominates the whole narrative of the *Mahābhārata*. Being a constant associate of Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva, he is identical with '*Nara*' in the '*Naranārāyaṇa*' conception and commands a pivotal position in the heroic cult of the Great Epic. We have seen above that Pāṇini refers to the worshipper of Arjuna, called *Arjunaka*, together with the devotee of Vāsudeva, called *Vāsudevaka*[33]. This remark

31. *Mahābhārata*, I. 125, 25-31

अहमेवानुयास्यामि भर्तारमपलायिनम् ।
न हि तृप्तास्मि कामानां ज्येष्टा मामनुमन्यताम् ॥
इत्युक्त्वा तं चिताग्निस्थं धर्मपत्नि नरर्षभम् ।
मद्रराजसुता तूर्णमन्वारोहद्यशस्विनी ॥
घन्या त्वमसि बाल्हीकि मत्तो भाग्यतरा तथा ।

Among the Śakas the custom of Sati prevailed. In Russia it was followed up to the 8th century, as we from the account of an Arab traveller (R. Sānkrityāyana, *Madhya Asia kā Itihāsa* I, p.68) The discovery of the Scythian burials at Pazirik and other places show that a large number of persons, including, of course, the wives, followed the dead into the grave. The dead man's wife was always provided with a tomb

32. *Mahābhārata*, I, 125, 21.

implies that Arjuna was treated as a deity at the time of Pāṇini and his followers occupied a prominent position. The *Arjunaka* of the sūtra of Pāṇini can be easily equated with the Prājjuṇaka (Prārjunaka) of Kauṭilya[34] and the Prārjuna and Ārjunāyana of the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta.[35] The tribe, associated with the name of Arjuna, existed in the Panjab and the North-West up to the advent of Gupta power in the fourth century A.D. In this connection it is significant to note that some oases-states of the Tarim basin, dotting the northern trade route, running from Kashghar to Tun-huang, were constantly associated with the name of Arjuna in ancient times. The founder of the state of Yen K'i (*Agnideśa*), modern Karashahr, is called *Shoen*, whose name is a Chinese transcription of *Arjuna*. A later king of Karashahr was known as *Li Po-shoen*, whose name is conserved in the *Tseu-che-t'ong-kien* 62A in the form of *Sien-shoen*, which represents *Senārjuna*. Lūders has discovered a fragment of a Sanskrit work in this region, which records the reception, given to the Buddhist fraternity by a king of Karashahr (*Agniśvara*), named Indrārjuna, for the spiritual benefit of the line of his ancestors beginning with Candrārjuna.[36] In fact, the word *Arjuna* is a regular component of the names of the kings of Karashahr. Like Karashahr, Kucā was also ruled by a line of kings, bearing the surname *Po* (white), which stands for '*Arjuna*' (also meaning 'white') in Chinese transcriptions. The king of Kucā, vanquished by Lu-Koang, is named *Po-Shoen* (Ch'oen) in Chinese annals. In the narrative of the Chinese writer Yeu-yang-tsa-tsu, the

scarcely less sumptuous than that of her husband and sometimes a male attendant, possibly her groom, was chosen to accompany her. (T. Talbot Rice, *The Scythians* p. 100). Following the Scythians, the Slavs also buried their leaders in tombs, equipped with all the essentials of life, and placed the dead man's wife, decked in her wedding dress, in his burial chamber, but they led her into it alive, there to meet her death. (*Ibid* p. 181.)

33. *Pāṇini Sūtra* IV, 3, 98,

34. *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* III, 72 (ed. R. Shamasastri) p. 194.

35. J. F. Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* III, no. I

मालवार्जुनायनयौधेयमद्रकाभीरप्रार्जुनसनकानीककाकखरपरिकादिभिश्च

36. H. Lüders, *Weitere Beiträge zur Geschichte und Geographie von Ostturkestan* (1930) P. 28.

तदर्थं अवसम्बोधयामि यदयं महात्मा अपरिमितशुभमतिशुभरुचिरपुण्य ....(प्र) ......(म) (हा) दानपतिअग्नीश्वरअग्निमहाराजइन्द्रार्जुन सार् (ध) (म्) अ (ग्) निम (हा) (राज्ञि) या सूर्यप्रभा........या.........तथा पूर्वं अग्नीन्द्राणामादौ चन्द्रार्जुनस्या (म) यतित कालगतस्य उपपत्तिविशेषतायै ।

hero is named *A-chu-eul*, which is a variant of *Arjuna*, and in a manuscript of Tokharian B dialect, preserved in the Leningrad Museum, there is a reference to a king *Kṣemārcuna* or *Kṣemārjuna*. The literature and traditions, connected with the name of Arjuna, were so widely prevalent in these regions that the Turks also incorporated them in their lore after settling there. In the Uighur redaction of the *Hiḍimbāvadha*, a part of which has been published and translated by F.W.K. Müller, the name of Arjuna occurs in the form of *Arcuni*.[37] According to Sylvain Lévi, this episode of the *Mahābhārata* owed the privilege of entering into the Turkish world to the presence of the name of Arjuna in it, who was regarded as the eponymous founder of the dynasties of some Central Asiatic oases-states.[38] Thus it is clear that the tribe, bearing the name of Arjuna, was connected with some people of Chinese Turkestan, whose heroes and kings had this designation.[39]

8. *Arjuna, Ṛṣīka and Yue-che.*

The word *arjuna* has an unmistakable resemblance with the Śaka word *erzuna*, meaning a 'leader' or 'chief'. This word *erjuna* or *erjhuna* can be identified with the word *alysānai*, *eysānai* i.e. *alzānai*, *ezānai*, which is used in the old Śaka language in the Khotan country for rendering the Sanskrit word *kumāra*. Śaka languages use both 'r' and 'l'. Therefore, Śaka *alysānai* presupposes an older *arzāna*, *arzānaka*, while the later form *eysānai* shows that the initial vowel tended towards an 'e'. The word *erjhuna* is used in the sense of 'prince' in the Takht-i-Bahi inscription of the year 103. According to Konow, *kapa* stands for the Kuṣāṇa ruler Kuzula Kadphises and *erjhuṇa kapasya* means 'of the prince Kadhpises' in this inscription.[40] The word *erjuna* or *erzuna* is derived from *arzi*. Analogous to it are the Śaka words *aljsā*, meaning 'silvery', and *āljsata*, meaning 'silver,' that are akin to the Avestan word *erezata* (silver),

37. F. W. K. Müller, *Uighurica* III, 1911 in Abhandl. K. Pr. Ak. Wis. (1910) p. 24.

38. Sylvain Lévi, '*Le Tokharien*', *Journal Asiatique* (1933) reprinted in *Fragments de Textes Koutchéens* pp. 22-24.

39. Buddha Prakash, 'Central Asia, the Crucible of Cultures', *Journal of the Greater India Society* Vol. XV. (1956) p, 54.

40. Sten Konow, *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions* (Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum Vol. II) p. 65, 61 mira boyaṇasya erjhuṇa kapasya puyae madu pidu puyae.

the Sanskrit word *rajata* (silver) and the Persian word *arziz* (tin).[41] All these words have the original sense of whiteness and brightness, that are also connoted by the word *arjuna* in Sanskrit. It is highly significant that Arjuna, the hero of the *Mahābhārata*, is said to have borne this name, because he was 'white' and 'pure' in action.[42] All over the Eurasian steppes the nobles were regarded as 'white' and the commoners were considered 'black'. Hence the word for white colour was employed to denote the idea of leadership. This is why *erzuna* was used in the sense of a 'leader' in Śaka languages.

The word *arjuna* occurs in Vedic literature also. [*Ṛgveda* I, 112, 23; IV, 26, 1; VIII, 1, 11; *Yajurveda* X, 21; *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* II, 1, 2-11; V, 4, 3, 7). There it denotes 'white' and 'white leprosy' and is also an epithet of Indra. But it does not denote a tribe or a human hero. On the other hand, we come across the name of a northern tribe Arjunaka or Ārjunāyana or Prārjuna in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya and the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta, as seen above. This tribe seems to be connected with the name *arjuna*. The use of this word in the sense of a tribe or a human hero is foreign to Vedic literature. But in Central Asia, among the states and principalities, which were founded by the Śakas, it invariably denoted an eponymous hero.

Vedic and Śaka both branched from the same parent Indo-European language. Hence many words were common to both. But whereas *arjuna* in Vedic lost its pristine sense and was only used as an adjective, signifying 'whiteness', in Śaka it meant a tribe and a human hero and later on this sense was imparted to this word in India as a result of the impact of the Śakas. (Buddha Prakash, *Studies in Indian History and Civilization*. pp. 248-249.)

Sten Konow has shown that the variants of *arzi*, underlying the word *erzuna*, are *ārśi-asii*, which become *ṛṣi-iṣi* in

41. Sten Konow, *Śaka Studies* p. 115; *Kharoṣṭhi Inscriptions* Introduction p. 61.

42. *Mahābhārata*, : Virāṭparvan IV, 39, 18.

पृथिव्यां चतुरन्तायां वर्णो मे दुर्लभः समः ।
करोमि कर्म शुक्लं च तेन मामर्जुनं विदुः ॥

Sanskrit and *asi-āsi-isi* in Prakrit.[43] In the *Mahābhārata* the

43. *Kāśikā* on *Pāṇini Sūtra* IV, 2, 132.

ऋषिकेषु जातः आर्षिकः महिषकेषु जातः माहिषिकः

Rāmāyaṇa, (Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa, 41. 10,)

विदर्भानृषिकांश्चैव रम्यान्माहिषकानपि ।

Nāsik Cave inscription of Gautamīputra Śāta karṇī (R. G. Bhandarkar, *Collected Works* Vol. 1 p. 231).

असिक–असक–मुळक–सुरठ–कुकुरापरतानूप–विदभ–आकरवतिराजस ।

It is noteworthy that on the pedestal of a Bodhisattva image, found at Katra Kesavadeva in Mathura, a lady, named Abhohā, is called *āsi*, which shows her Śaka origin. The Greek forms of this word *ṛṣi-isi-asi* are *asioi* and *asiani*, which are the names of the tribes, who invaded Bactria and overthrew the Greek kingdoms. (J. Junge *Śaka Studien* (Leipzig 1939). pp. 96-97; W. W. Tarn *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, pp. 287 *et seq*; Ludwig Bachhofer, 'On the Greeks and Sakas in India', *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (1941) pp. 246-247) Wherever the Saka tribes went, they carried this name with them. The Siraci and the Aorsi, living on the shores of the Black Sea, were in relation with the Greeks since the middle of the first century B.C. Later, when the Alans occupied the region, inhabited by the Aorsi, the latter mixed up with them, and the tribal name *Alanorsi* recalls their merger. (J. Junge, *Saka Studien* pp. 54, 75). Later on, the Sakas seem to have merged in the confederacies of the Turks after their ascendancy in Central Asia. Among the five tribes of the Western Turks, who lived to the east of the river Chu and were known as Tu-lu, the Turgesh were composed of the Tukhshi and the *Azi* (*Az* of the Orkhon inscriptions). These *Azi* represent the *Asi* or Ṛṣikas and the Tukhśi seem to be the remnants of the Tukhāras. Under their ruler Sulu (d. 738) these Turgesh rose to power in Central Asia and eclipsed the might of the Western Turks, whose ruler A Shih-na married his daughter Huai-tao to this rising chief (V.V. Barthold, *Four Studies on the History of Central Asia* pp. 85, 87). In 766 the Qurluq ousted the Turgesh and adopted the old title of Jabghu (Yabghu). After the conquest of the Mongols some of the Saka tribes entered into their groupings also. The *Asud* and the *Tokhuraut*, the branches of the Dzhalair, were the Ṛṣikas and Tukharas, who mixed up with the Mongols. In the West the *Alans* are known as the *Ās* (*Asy* or *Iasy*). Pelliot has shown that 'Alan' represents the original name of the Iranian confederation. In the language of the northern Iranians *ry* becomes *l*, as shown by Gauthiot in his *Grammaire Sogdienne*. Thus the word *ārya*, whence *haraiva*, *areioi* etc., normally becomes *ala*, plural *alani*. We know that the Caucasian Ossets call themselves *Iron*, i.e., Iranians, from the same root as '*Aryan*'. It is only their neighbours, who call them Ossets. (Russianised Georgian *Ovs-et-i* (land of the Ovs) based on Ās). The fact that these people are called *As* also shows their affinity with the Scythian stock. (Paul Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo* I p. 18). Many toponyms in the steppes of northern Taurida bear the impress of this name. Several villages within the former Eupatoria and Perekop districts have *as* as their name or a part of it e.g. Biuk-as, Kuchuk-as, Terekhi-as etc. There is also a river *As* in the northern part of the Peninsula. The name of the Gothic city of Doras (dor-as) points to the same direction. Another group of the *As* lived on the Caucasian side of the Bosphorus, where the name of the hill *Asso-dag* (As-Dag) in the Kuban delta near Taman and the name of the town of Malorosa provide evidence of it. In the *Secret History of the Mongols* (sections 262, 270, 274) there are many references to *Asut*, a regular Mongal plural from *As*, and it is this *Asut*, which is correctly rendered by the Chinese transcription *A-su*, occurring hundreds of times in the Yuan Period. Accordingly, in Chinese texts, for instance, *Ching-shih-ta-tien*, we find the form *A-lan A-ssu*. (Buddha

Ṛṣika are a people of the northern regions, living beyond the land of the Kambojas, who inhabited the Badakshān region, and their king, who also bears this name, is mentioned with *Candra* (moon) and *Diti*.[44] According to Charpentier, the word "Yue-che" means "the moon people" in Chinese.[45] It is noteworthy that Kaniṣka, the greatest ruler of the Yue-che, bore the titles *chen-t'o* (tśien-dā) and *chan-t'an* (tśian-dan), as we gather from the Chinese translation of the *Sūtrālaṅkāra*.[46] These titles are derived from the Sanskrit word for moon *candra* (*canda*). Thus it is clear that the Yue-che had a regular association with the 'moon'. It may be noted that Arjuna of the

Prakash, 'Śākadvīpa', *Purāṇa* Vol. III (1961) pp. 253-287.). This wide prevalence of the word *ās* shows how far and deeply the Scythian element had spread in ancient times. Rawlinson has shown that the names of the Scythian kings, Seopasis, Idanthrysus and Taxacis imply the Scythian root *asi* or *ārsi* (G. Rawlinson, *History of Herodotus* Vol. III p. 205. ; G. Vernadsky, *Ancient Russia* (1943) pp. 83-84; H.W. Bailey, 'Asica' *Transactions of the Philological Society* (1943) pp. 2-3). The westernmost branch of the Ossets, the Digor, living on the Urukh and its tributaries, speaks a dialect of its own and calls its country Digor, which is also known as Ashtigor or As-Digor or Arsi Tagare in the *Geography* of Moses of Khorene (*Grundriss der Iransischen Philologie*; Vladimir Minorsky, *Hudūd-al-Ālam* p. 445). The *As-Digor* are the descendants of the Yue-che, who crossed the Don in the second century B.C. and settled in the steppes north of the Caucasus and on the shores of the Black Sea in the first century B.C.

44. *Mahābhārata* 1, 67, 31, 33.

प्रह्लादो नाम बाल्हीकः स बभूव नराधिपः ।
चन्द्रस्तु दितिजश्रेष्ठो लोके ताराधिपोपमः ॥
चन्द्रवर्मेति विख्यातः काम्बोजानां नराधिपः ।
अर्क इत्यभिविख्यातोऽयँस्तु दानवपुंगवः ।
ऋषिको नाम राजर्षिर्बभूव नृपसत्तमः ।
मृतपा इति विख्यातोऽयमासीदसुरोत्तमः ॥

Mahābhārata VI, 9, 64, 65.

ऋषिका विदर्भाः काकास्तंगणाः परतंगणाः ।
उत्तराश्चापरे म्लेच्छाः क्रूरा भरतसत्तम ॥

Mahābhāṛata 27, 25, 26.

लोहान्परमकाम्बोजान् ऋषिकानुत्तरानपि ।
सहितांस्तान् महाराज व्यजयत्पाकशासनिः ॥

45. Jarl Charpentier, 'Die Ethnographische Stellung der Tocharer, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* (1917) pp. 347-388. Paul Pelliot rejects the equation Ṛṣi-Yue-che with the remark, "Les Ṛṣika du Mahābhārata resulteraient d'une etymologie de Pandit pour Arśi" ('Tokharien et Koutchéen', *Journal Asiatique* (1934) p. 27) But he does not appear to have attached due importance to Indian traditions, recorded in the *Mahābhārata*, and their equivalence and correspondence to those of Central Asia.

46. Sylvain Lévi, 'Kaniska et Satavahana', *Journal Asiatique* (1936) pp. 61—121

Mahābhārata also belonged to a family, which is traditionally connected with the moon (cāndravaṁśa). This association may be based on the fact that the moon is marked by whiteness and brightness, which the word *arẓi-ārśi-asi* connotes. Thus *arjuna* linguistically corresponds to *ṛṣika* or yue-che and semanttically agrees with it as well, for both *arjuna* and *ārsi* mean 'white' in Sanskrit and Śaka respectively.[47] The Ṛṣika—Yue-che were a people of Śaka race and Kadphises and Kaniṣka considered themselves as the kinsmen of Caṣṭana, the son of Ysamotika, one of the Śaka satraps of Saurāṣṭra and Mālwa.[48] In this way, it is clear that Arjuna is the hero and symbol of a tribe of the Śaka stock, which came to be known as Ārjunāyana or Prārjuna after him.

9. *Arjuna, the symbol of the Śakas.*

We have seen above that Arjuna was the eponymous hero of the states of Kuca and Karashahr in Central Asia. These states were populated by the Śakā -Kuṣāṇas long before the Völkerwanderung of the Yue-che under the pressure of the Hiung-nu, reported by the Chinese envoy Chang-K'ien in thesecond century B.C. Pelliot has reconstructed the ancient name of Kuca as Kutsi.[49] Since the middle of the seventh century at the latest Kuca was known as Kushān-Kusan-Küsān. Rashiduddin calls this place 'Kosān' This state bespeaks the advent of the Kuṣāṇas in this region at an early date. In the Sanskrit documents, found in Central

47. A. J. Van Windekens, *Léxique etymologique des dialectes tokhariens* pp. 15-27.

48. The inclusion of the statue of Caṣṭana in the ancestral gallery (*devakula*) of the Kuṣāṇa kings, found at Māt near Mathurā, shows that the Yue-che (Ṛṣikas) considered the Śakas as their kith and kin (J. Ph. Vögel, *Explorations at Mathura*, Archaeological Survey of India (1911-12) p. 126). It should also be noted that in the same ancestral gallery a head wears a high Scythian cap with the tip tilted forward, which is reminiscent of Śaka Tigrakhauda (J. Ph. Vögel, 'La Sculpture de Mathura', *Ars Asiatica* (1930) p. 1. IV-a-b). The costumes and armaments of the Indian Śakas and Kuṣāṇas resembled those found in the graves of the Sarmatians. They used the long sword in place of the short *akinakes*; among them bow and arrow were not as important as in former times and the lance and heavy scale armour or ring armour came into vogue. (L. Bachhofer, 'On the Greeks and Sakas in India' *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (1941) pp. 247-249) R. Ghirshman, *Begram* p. X).

49. Paul Pelliot, 'Tokharien et Koutchéen *Journal Asiatique* (1934) p. 88.

Asia, the word Kuca is used to denote the whole Turkestan.[50] In India Kuca is known as Kucāvara in Pāṇini-Sūtra (IV, 3, 94) and the Kuceans are called Kūcīkas, that are counted among the northern peoples in the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* of Varāhamihira. Another state about thirty miles east of Turfan is named as Kao-ch'ang, present Qoco (Kara-Khojo). Pelliot has pointed out the analogy between the name Kao-ch'ang and the word Ku-shih (Chu-shih). But Maenchen-Helfen disputes this view and remarks that in the second half of the 8th century the Śakas spelled Kao-ch'ang as Kautañai.[51] However, in the Sogdian letters of the second century A.D. Kao-ch'ang appears as Kc"an, read as K.chan.[52] A few miles east of Turfan lay the capital of Ku-shih, the name of which very strikingly resembles the word Kusha. Besides these places, the tenth century Persian geography *Hudūd-al-Ālam* mentions a town Kuchan in the region of Lan-chou, where Tibetan and Chinese merchants resided and which is the same as Kushan on Kashgari's map,[53] and a city named K. san, lying probably west of the Nan-shan, between the Huaug-ho and the Hsi-ning-ho, which is identical with a place, called Kushai or Gushai west of Lan-chou.[54] Some place-names of Sogdiana also bore the impress of the Kuṣāṇas. An important and prosperous town of Sogdiana, where a Kushānisha is known to have reigned, was known to the Chinese as Chu-shuang-ni-chia or Kuei-shuang-ni and to the Mohemmadans as Kushaniya, modern Kushani.[55] It is the present Kashān-Atā, north-west of Samarkand. It is also likely that Kish, represented by the site of modern Shahrisabz, was also named after the Kuṣāṇas.[56] Similarly Kuie-shan in Ferghana, that is the same as K'o-sai of the T'ang period,

50. H. Lüders, *Weitere Beiträge zur Geschichte und Geographie von Ost-turkestan* p. 246.

51. Otto Maenchen-Helfen, 'The Yueh-chih Problem Reexamined' *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (1945) p. 76.

52. H. Reichelt, *Die Soghdischen Handschriftenreste des Britischen Museums*, p. 5; W. B. Henning, 'The Date of the Sogdian Ancient Letters,' *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* (1948) pp. 601-615.

53. Vladimir Minorsky, *Hudūd-al-Ālam* p. 230.

54. *Ibid.* p. 233.

55. *Ibid.* p. 113; V. V. Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion* Vol. I p. 96.

56. E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-Kiue Occidentaux* p. 146.

and is known as Kasan nowadays,[57] has a Kuṣāṇa appearance. On the basis of these facts Maenchen-Helfen argues that the Kusha people must have settled in Central Asia, especially the Tarim basin, long before the foundation of the Kuṣāṇa empire. The knowledge of the Chinese of the early Han period about Kutsi, Ku-shia, Kao-chang etc, is a clear pointer to the existence of the Kuṣāṇas in ancient Turkestan from before the rise of the Chinese empire[58] at the end of the 3rd and the beginning of the 2nd century B.C. This antiquity of the Śaka-Kuṣāṇas in Central Asia, especially the oases-states of Chinese Turkestan, like Kucā, explains the prevalence of the myth of Arjuna in those regions and gives a clue to the existence of a tribe, bearing the name of Arjuna in the Panjab, which is symbolised by the inclusion of Arjuna in the Pāṇḍava fraternity. We know that the tribe, called Ārjunāyana after the name of Arjuna, spread up to the Mathura region, where their coins have been discovered.[59] This spreading of the name of Arjuna on the crest of a wave of migration of the people, bearing it, suggests an intrusion of some Śaka tribes in India from Central Asiatic regions.

10. *Bhīma, the symbol of the Vṛkas.*

After studying the ethnic implications of Arjuna let us now approach the name of Bhīma, the famous wrestler and maceman. One of his favourite designations is Vṛkodara.[60] It is significant that Vṛka is the name of a tribe. Pāṇini refers to the Vṛkas as a Kṣatriya sangha (V, 3, 115).[61] An individual member of this sangha was called Vārkeṇya and the whole sangha are known as Vṛka. This Vārkeṇya is the same as Vrkāna, mentioned with Pārthava in the Bahistun inscription of Darius. Darius complains that Pārthava and Vrkāna rebelled against him and sided with Phraotes, whom his father

57. *Ibid.* pp. 148, 273.

58. Otto Maenchen-Haelfen, 'The Yuch-chih Problem Reexamined', *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (1945) p. 77.

59. V. A. Smith, *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum* p. 160.

60. *Bhagavadgītā* 1, 15; *Kirātārjunīya* 11, 1.

61. *Pāṇinisūtra* V, 3, 115· वृकाट्टेण्यण् Bhaṭṭoji explains आयुधजीविसंघवाचकात्स्वार्थे । वार्केण्यः ।

Hystaspes subdued.[62] In the Avesta the word *Vrkāna* occurs as *Vehrkāna*, in Armenian its form is *Vrkan*, in Greek it becomes *Urkania* and its modern variant is *Hyrcania*, which is the name of the region, lying to the north of Parthia, on the eastern corner of the Caspian Sea.[63] In Sanskrit the word *vṛka* means a wolf and in modern Persian *gurg* signifies this animal. Hence *Gurgan*, comprising the district of Astarabad, watered by the river of that name, is an exact translation of the old Indo-Iranian name Vṛka-Vrkāna. The derivatives of the word Vṛka are found in several languages of the North-West, e.g., Ishkashmi *werk*, Uidgha *wurk wurg* etc. A Śaka official of Mathura, who was incharge of the repair and maintenance of the devakula of Wima Kadphises, uses the title *Bakanapati* or *Barkanapati*, which signifies that he was a chief of the Vṛkas and hailed from Hyrcania, as shown by K. P. Jayaswal.[64] In the *Mahābhārata* also we get references to this tribe though the readings of some names are corrupt.[65] According to V. S. Agrawala, the plural form Vṛkāḥ is equivalent to *varkā* in the name of the *Saka Haumavarkā* or *Haumavargā*, who were known as Amyrgians to Greek writers.[66] But some scholars equate the word *hauma* in *haumavarkā* with soma and locate the Śakas, bearing this name, in the territory of Farghanah on the Jaxartes. According to Kent, the old Persisan root *varga* means 'pressing out' or 'drinking' as in *Aspavarga*, Gr. Aspourgianoi, a people, inhabiting the north-eastern coast of Black Sea at the moulth of the river Kuban, who derived their name from the fact that they milked mares and drank qumiz.[67] As will be seen later, the Śakas Haumavargā were identical with the Somakas, who were

62. Bisutun (Bahistun) Inscription of Darius, Column 11, line 91-96, Thātiy dārayava (ħ) uś xśāyathiya pārthava uta vrkāna (ham)i(ss)iyā (aba) va (hacā) ma pravr (taiś) (aga) u (ba) nta. Viśtāspa manā pitā hauv (parthavaiy) āha.........avadā hamaranam (a) kunan (ś) hadā parathavaibi(ś). Ṣukumar Sen, *Old Persian Inscriptions* p. 48.

63. *Ibid*. p. 49 note 92.

64. *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* XVI p. 258.

65. *Mahābhārata*, VI, 10, 60; 1,176; IV, 58 Vide, Robert Schafer, *Ethnography of Ancient India* pp. 76-149.

66. V. S. Agrawala, *India as known to Pāṇini* pp. 443, 467.

67. S. Chattopadhyaya, 'The Tribal Immigrations in Achaemenid India, *Indian Historical Quarterly* (1949) p. 256-266 citing Aurel Stein, "On the Ephadra, Huma and Soma Plant, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* (1931) pp. 501-514. vide, Roland G. Kent's note cited in A. J. Toynbee, *A Study of History* Vol. VII, p. 587.

a constituent tribe of the Pañcāla Confederacy. From their Sogdian habitat these Śakas seem to have come into Afghanistan, where their name survives in the locality called *Dasht-i-margo*, as shown by Foucher.[68] Wesendonk identifies them with the Sakaravaka[69] and Marquart with the Sacaraucae,[70] who invaded the kingdom of Bactria in association with the Asiani. Though the correct import of the expression *haumavarkā* is obscure and its equation with vṛka is conjectural and implausible, it is well-nigh certain that the Vṛkas were associated with the Śakas, as the epithet of the Kuṣāṇa official Barkanpati, referred to above, shows. As regards the name of these people, derived from the word for the wolf *vṛka*, it is significant to note that some tribes of Central Asia traced their ancestry to a wolf or she-wolf. In the famous tradition of the Turks, the ten girls, one of whom became the ancestor of their ruling clan, were the children of a prince and a she-wolf. After the destruction of all his people the said eponymous prince was saved by a she-wolf, whom he afterwards married. From this union of the prince and the she-wolf the ruling family of the Turks originated.[71] Some such traditions seem to underly the name of the Vṛkas. This name shows that the people, bearing it, were of Central Asiatic affinity. In modern times the section of the Jats of the Panjab, called Virks, represents the remnants of these ancient Vṛkas of Central Asia. The name of the locality Verka, which is a famous junction on the Amritsar Pathankot Railway, perhaps, bears a reminiscence of the settlemant of this tribe. Thus it becomes

68. A. Foucher, *La vieille route de l'Inde de Bactres à Taxila* Vol. II p. 190. F. N. 21.

69. O.G. Von Wesendonk, 'Kusän, Chioniten und Hephthaliten', *Klio* (1933) p. 337.

70. J. Marquart, *Das erste Kapitel des Gathā Uśtavati* p. 43.

71. O. Maenchen-Helfen, 'The Yueh-chih Problem Reexamined' *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (1945) p. 74. Herodotus has noted a Scythian tribe called Neuri, living to the north of the Scythian Aroteres. They lived in northern Padolia and Volynia, the cradle of the Proto-Slavs. They were believed to become *wolves* once a year. It appears that during winters they wore the skins of the wolves, which gave them the appearance of the wolves and was responsible for the aforesaid tradition about them. In Russian the word for the 'wolf' is *volka*, which, probably, underlies the name of the river Volga. This association of the wolf with a tribe of the Scythians is interesting in the context of the title *vṛkodara* applied to a member of the Pāṇḍava fraternity. Thus we observe that *Vṛkodara* enshrines the Scythian tradition of the wolf-ancestry of their kings (George Rawlinson, *History of Herodotus* Vol. III. p. 91).

crystal-clear that Vṛkodara or Bhīma, enshrining a reminiscence of the tradition of wolf-ancestry, current among the people of Central Asia, especially Hyrcania, known as Vṛkas, indicates the advent of these people into India and lends colour to the theory of the Śaka invasion, symbolised in the name of Arjuna.

11. *Yudhiṣṭhira, the symbol of the Yaudheyas.*

Like Arjuna and Bhīma the eldest Pāṇḍava brother Yudhiṣṭhira has a name of tribal significance. As seen above, Pāṇini derives the word Yudhiṣṭhira from 'yudha', meaning to fight.[72] In ancient Panjab there was a famous tribe called Yaudheya, whose name was also based on the root 'yudh'. Pāṇini refers to them together with the Parśus or (Persians) in V. 3, 117 and counts them among the āyudhajīvi sanghas,[73] Elsewhere the Yaudheyas are refered to in IV, 1, 176 न प्राच्यभर्गादियौधेयादिभ्यः The word Yaudheya is evidently synonymous with āyudhajīvī and āyudhīya, mentioned by Pāṇini[74] and Kauṭilya[75] respectively as a warrior-clan of the Panjab. The Purāṇas connect the Yaudheyas with the Uśīnaras, who dominated eastern Panjab in the post-Vedic period.[76] On the basis of these traditions, Pargiter thinks that king Uśinara established the kingdoms of the Yaudheyas, Ambaṣṭhas, Navarāṣṭras and Kṛmilas and his son Śivi founded the town of Śivapura.[77] In the *Mahābhārata* also the Yaudheyas are associated with the Trigarttas, Mālavas Ambaṣṭhas and Śivis.[78] In the *Sabhāparvan* they are shown to have brought presents for Yudhiṣṭhira together with these people.[79] In the *Droṇaparvan* they are

72. Pāṇini, VIII, 3, 95· गवियुधिस्थिरः

73. Pāṇini, V, 3, 117 पर्श्वादियौधेयादिभ्योऽणञौ

74. Pāṇini, IV, 1,176 न प्राच्यभर्गादियौधेयादिभ्यः

75. *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* (ed. R. Shamasastry) 11, 35, p. 142.
समाहर्ता चतुर्धा जनपदं विभज्य ग्रामाग्रं परिहारकमायुधीयम् निबन्धयेत्

76. F. E. Pargiter, *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* p. 380.

77. F. E. Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition* p. 264.

78. *Mahābhārata*, VII (Droṇa), 18, 6; VIII (Karṇa) 5, 48.

79. *Mahābhārata*, 11 (Sabhā) 48, 14-15.

काश्मीराः कुन्दमानाश्च पौरका हंसकायनाः ।
शिबित्रिगर्तयौधेया राजन्या मद्रकेकयाः ॥

mentioned with the Adrijas, Madrakas and Mālavas.[80] Varāhamihira places them along with the Ārjunāyanas in the northern division of India.[81] In the Allahabad stone pillar inscription of Samudragupta they are included in a list of northern peoples, consisting of the Ārjunāyanas, Madrakas, Mālavas, Ābhiras etc, who are alleged to have paid homage to the Gupta monarch.[82] Their conflict with the Śakas is alluded to in the Junagarh rock inscription of Rudradāman, where the Śaka king claims to have rooted out the Yaudheyas.[83] On the eve of the rise of the Guptas, they widely extended their rule in eastern Panjab, as we gather from the finds of their coins between the Sutlej and the Jumna in the districts of Kangra, Ludhiana, Rohtak, Delhi, Dehradun and Saharan pur, and the discovery of their mint at Rohtak and their coin-moulds and sealings at Sunet. Their new currency, bearing the Brāhmī legend यौधेयगणस्य जय: and depicting their tutelary deity Kārtikeya, which replaced the Kuṣāṇa currency in these regions, shows that they played a leading part in the extermination of Śaka rule in India. One of their seals, found at Ludhiana, bearing the legend यौधेयानां जयमंत्रधराणाम्, indicates that they were held in high esteem among the warrior-clans of the Panjab. Gradually they spread in northern Rajputana and moved in the Bharatpur region, where we get an inscription of their chief, who bears the title of महाराज महासेनापति.[85] It is significant that the territory on the banks of the Sutlej right up to the borders of the Bahawalpur state is still called Johiyawar after the Yaudheyas. Cunningham identifies the Johiyā Rajputs of the Bahawalpur region with the descendants

80. *Mahābhārata* VII (Droṇa)1 59, 5.
यौधेयानद्रिजान् राजन् मद्रकान् मालवानपि

81. *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* XIV, 28.

82. J. F. Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* no. 1 lines 22-23.
मालवार्जुनायनयौधेयमद्रकाभीरप्रार्जुनसनकानीककाकखरपरिकादिभिश्च
सर्वकरदानाज्ञाकरणप्रणामागमनपरितोषितप्रचण्डशासनस्य

83. *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. VIII pp. 36 ff.
सर्वक्षत्राविष्कृतवीरशब्दजातोत्सेकाविधेयानां यौधेयानाम्

84. Sir Alexander Cunningham, *Report on the Archaeological Survey India* 11, pp. 14-17.

84-A. *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (1884) p. 139.

85. J. F. Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* 111 no. 1. line 1.

of the ancient Yaudheyas, whose three tribes correspond to the three clans, indicated on Yaudheya coins.[86] Thus we observe that the Yaudheyas occupied a prominent place in the Panjab. That their association with Yudhiṣṭhira is based not only on linguistic considerations, but is also founded on historical tradition, is manifest from the fact that Yaudheya is stated to be the son of Yudhiṣṭhira in the *Mahābhārata*.[87]

12. *Yaudheya and Yautiyā.*

The clan of the Yaudheyas has an unmistakable resemblance with the Yautiyā of Laristan, the Ouitioi of Transcaucasia and the Jut nomads of Kirman. The Yautiyā figured in the Völkerwanderung of the Iranian-speaking peoples, which brought the Medes and Persians into Iran about the 8th century B.C. In this invasion the Yautiyā and the Maciyā formed the advance-guard, and the Pārsā proper, the main body, while the Asagartiyā were in the rear. Driven by the pressure of the Mādā (Medes), the movement of these peoples bifurcated into two wings, the right one pushing north—westwards up to Transcaspiana and the left one wheeling towards the south-east and penetrating into the Panjab, just as in earlier migration one wing of their forefathers had passed through northern Iran and Transcaucasia up to Anatolia and another descended down the north-western passes into the land of the Seven Rivers. Hence we find the Yautiyā, Maciyā and Asagartiyā living with the right wing of the Pārsā in Ardalān, Azerbaijān and still farther north and north-west in the lower basin of the rivers Aras and Kur. The settling of the Yautiyā in these regions is indicated by the Armenian name *Uti* (Greek *Utene*), given to a district between Qārābāgh and the south bank of the river Kur in Transcaucasia.[88] On the south-east flank the Yautiyā, settled in north-eastern Laristan, as the location of the capital of their chief Vahyazdāta, Tāravā, which is identical with Tārum, proves. These Yautiyā rose up in revolt against the

86. Sir Alexander Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India* pp. 281-282.

87. *Mahābhārata* 1, 95, 76

युधिष्ठिरस्तु गोवासनस्य शैव्यस्य देविकां नाम कन्यां स्वयं वरांल्लेभे ।
तस्यां पुत्रं जनयामास यौधेयं नाम

88. N. Adontz, *Histoire d'Arménie, les origines* p. 308; R. N. Frye, *The Heritage of Persia* (London 1962) p. 50.

Ariyaramnan branch of the Achaemenids and their chief Vahyazdāta impersonated Kurus II's son Bardiyā (Smerdis) and launched the war of the restoration of the legitimate line of (Ciśpiś's) Teispes' elder son against the usurpation of Viśtaspa's son Dārayavauś in 522-521 B. C.[89] Following a master strategy he occupied the basin of the Kabul river in Gandhāra, where he aimed at cutting the communications between Darius' two principal supporters, the viceroys of Harahvatiś and Bākhtriś, and establishing his contact with the insurgents of Thataguś. This move towards Gandhāra had for its objective the establishment of a Yautiyā empire in the south-east of Iran and the strengthening of the hands of the Mede insurgent Fravṛtiś in the west. But his plan was foiled by the governor of Harahvatiś, Vivāna, and Darius announced his victory over this formidable rival, making no secret of his prejudice against his clan of Yautiyā.[90] Subsequently, in order to weaken their integrity, he placed them in the satrapy of Harahvatiś and included them, together with the Maciyā (Mykoi), in the fourteenth taxation district of the gazetteer of Herodotus with a heavy penal assessment of six hundred talents.

Thus we observe that the Yautiyā were the Iranian-speaking participants in the Völkerwanderung of the Central Asiatic nomads in the ninth and eighth centuries B. C. One of their wings pushed forward into Iran and Transcaucasia and another swooped into Gandhāra and the Panjab.[91] Almost in the proximity of the Yautiyā were the Kurus and the Kambojas and some tribes of the Śakas, who sided with Ciśpiś (Teispes) (675-640 B.C.), the son and successor of Hakhāmaniś (Achaemenes) (700-675 B.C.), and consequently lent their names to the kings, Kuruś and Ka (m) bujiya, as we shall see later on.[92] Thus the movements of the Yautiyā in Iran

89. Behistun Inscription of Darius, Column III lines 20-25 Sukumar Sen, *Old Persian Inscriptions* p. 53.

Thātiy dārayava (h) uś xśāyathiya I martiyā Vahyazdāta nāma tāravā nāma vrdanam yautiyā nāmā dahyāuś pārsaiy avadā adāraya hauv duvitīyam udapatatā pārsaiy. Kārahyā ava tha athaha adam bardiya ahmi hya kurauś pussa etc.

90. *Ibid.* pp. 54-60. It is significant that Vahyazdāta's people were not mentioned in the list of subject peoples, inscribed on the south tomb at Persepolis probably under Artaxerxes (Artaxayarśa) II (404-359) B. C. (Sukumar Sen, *Op. cit.* p. 172).

91. Arnold J. Toynbee, *A Study of History* Vol. VII pp. 607-609.

92. G. G. Cameron, *A History of Early Iran* pp. 179-180.

and India were connected with the expansion of the Kurus. The name of Yudhiṣṭhira, associated with the Yaudheyas, as noted above, recalls the advent of these people in India in the age of the Kurus. A significant evidence of the connection of this Pāṇḍava hero with the Yautiyā-Yaudheya clan is, perhaps, afforded by the name of the Yautiyā chief Vahyazdāta, mentioned above. In this name *vahyas* is the comparative form of *vahu*, which means 'good'. In the *Avesta* Vohu-mano is the second Amesha-Spenta, which emanate from Ahura-Mazda. Vohu-mano is divine wisdom, "the strong son of God", who leads us into the path of Aśa.[93] He is also the guardian angel of animals. Thus Vohu-mano, associated with Aśa, corresponds to what the Indian term *dharma* connotes. Now, Yudhiṣṭhira is known to be the son of *dharma*, which is also the sense of Vahyazdāta. This analogy may be purely accidental, but against the background of the connection of Yudhiṣṭhira with the Yautiyā-Yaudheya, it has some significance in regard to the basic conceptions, which lie embedded in the names of eponymous heroes.

13. *Nakula and Sahadeva, the symbols of the Madras.*

We have so far been considering the tribal connotations of the three Pāṇḍava brothers Arjuna, Bhīma and Yudhiṣṭhira. Now let us study the ethnic implications of their younger consanguine brothers Nakula and Sahadeva. These two brothers were the sons of Pāṇḍu by his wife Mādrī. The name of their mother Mādrī suggests their connection with the clan of the Madras, that settled in the Panjab in the post-Vedic period and was associated with other peoples, inhabiting this region, in the texts, cited above. We have seen that the realm of the Madras lying between the Chenab and the Ravi with its seat at Śākala (modern Sialkot), was an important centre of Vedic learning. Pāṇini mentions two divisions of the Madras, *Pūrva* (eastern) and *Apara* (western)[94]. The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*[95] refers to their northern settlement under the name of *Uttaramadra*, which must have been somewhere in the vicinity of Uttarakuru.

93. I. J. S. Taraporewala, 'Zoroastrianism', *Cultural Heritage of India* Vol. II. p. 331.

94. Pāṇini VII, 3, 13 दिशोऽमद्राणाम् IV, 2, 2,108. मद्रेभ्योऽञ्

95. *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* VIII, 14, 3; Zimmer locates them in Kaśmīra (*Altindische Leben* p. 102)

14. *The Iranian affinity of the Madras.*

That the Madras were an Iranian people is manifest from the remark of the *Mahābhārata* that they were the offspring of King Vyuṣitāśva, which is a sanskritised form of Viśtāspa, a name borne by the father of Darius. This king suffered from pthysis, like Pāṇḍu, and died as a result of cohabiting with his wife Bhadrā Kākṣīvatī. Then, in consequence of divine favour, seven sons were born to her, three of whom were Sālva and four were Madra.[96] Madra was also known as Madrakāra, an Iranian compound, in which the word 'kāra' means an 'army' or a 'people'.[97] In Pushto the word 'kor' means a 'house' or a 'family'.[98] The word madra itself has been equated with the Iranian word *māda* or *mede*.[99] The name of Matienoi, which was a part of Media, according to Herodotus, seems also to be based on the word Māda, Mede, Madra. A parallelism has been traced in the legend of Bhadrā, the mother of the Madras, and that of the princess Media, the mother of the Medes.[100] Prof. Przyluski has drawn attention to the Siamese version of an Indian legend of north-western origin, in which a king was metamorphosed into the body of a stag, which he killed in a ritual, and his rival was also asked to enter the body of that animal, in order to cohabit with the queen, and pointed out that the significance of the stag in it is due to the influence of the Scythians, among whom the stag occupied an important position, as we learn from their art.[101] According

96. *Mahābhārata* 1, 121, 7-19
व्युषिताश्व इति ख्यातो बभूव किल पार्थिवः ।
पुरापरमधर्मिष्ठः पुरोवंशविवर्धनः ॥
आसीत्काक्षीवती चास्य भार्या परमसम्मता ।
भद्राणां मनुष्येन्द्र रूपेणासदृशी भुवि ॥
सा तेन सुषुवे देवी शवेन भरतर्षभ ।
त्रीन् शाल्वांश्चतुरो मद्रान् सुतान् भरतसत्तम ॥

97. Sukumar Sen, *Old Persian Inscriptions* p. 39. avathāšaiy athabam paraidiy kārahya hamissiya manā naiy gaubataiy avam jadiy.

98. G. Morgenstiern , *Etymological Vocabulary of Pushto*; s. v. kor; J. Charpentier, 'Some Remarks on Pushto Etymology,' *Acta Orientalia*. VII. p. 188.

99. Harit Krishna Deb, 'Mede and Madra', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal* (1925) p. 205.

100. Jean Przyluski, 'Nouveaux aspects de l'histoire des Scythes', *Revue de l'Université de Bruxelles* Vol. 42 (1937) p. 218.

101. Jean Przyluski, 'Un ancien peuple du Panjab, les Salva', *Journal Asiatique* (1929) pp. 337.

to the *Śarabhanga-Jātaka* (483), Rājarṣi Paurava was the incarnation of Śarabha. The legend of the sage Riṣyaśṛnga (man-stag) also betrays the influence of the stag myth. It is also noteworthy that Śākala, the capital of the Madras, is associated with a person, named Meṇḍhaka, meaning 'ram' who owned rams of gold. This tradition of the golden ram recalls the legend of the mythical ram of golden fleece, which the Argonautes came to conquer in the north of Pont in the Scythian country, and accords with the sanctity attaching to the ram among the Central Asiatic nomads.[102] According to the *Mahābhārata* 1,67, Sālva is an incarnation of Asura-Ajaka (the goat-demon) and we learn from coins that an Udumbara king was named as Ajamitra. It is also noteworthy that the presiding Yakṣa of Bhadraśaila, which is identical with Bhadraṅkara or Śākala, was called Kharposta, which is an Iranian word signifying a book on the skin of a donkey. These considerations vouch for the Iranian affinities of the Madras.

15. *Madra and Sālva.*

Initially the Madras appeared in the aggregation of Iranian peoples, called the Sālva, mentioned in the *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa* (1,2, 9) and the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (X, 4,1,10) and the sūtras of Pāṇini (IV, 1, 167); (IV, 1, 167); (IV, 3, 166.)[103] Their advent on the Yamunā is implied in the Vedic text, referring to the turning of wheels of Śālva women on her banks.[104] The reference in question shows that the Sālvas sustained a crushing defeat on the bank of the Yamunā and had acknowledged Yaugandhari as their king. According to R. C. Hazra, the king of the Yugandharas had defeated the Sālvas.

102. Jean Przyluski, 'Un ancien peuple dn Panjab, les Oudoumbara', *Journal Asiatique* (1926) pp. 4-8.

103. Pāṇini IV, 1, 167 साल्वेयगान्धारिभ्यांच IV, 3, 166. लुप् च, ।

104. J. Przyluski, 'Un ancien peuple du Panjab, les Salva', *Journal Asiatique* (1929) p. 314; R. C. Hazra 'The Interpretation and History of Two Ancient Vedic Gāthās and their Social & Political Interest' A. B. O. R. I. (Poona) Vol. 37 (1956) pp. 144-173.

- *Āpastambīya Mantrapāṭha* II, 2, 12-13.

यौगन्धरीरेव नो राजेति साल्वीरवादिषुः ।
विवृत्तचक्रा आसीनास्तीरेण यमुने तव ॥
सोम एष नो राजेत्याहुर्ब्राह्मणीः प्रजाः ।
विवृत्तचक्रा आसीनास्तीरेणासौ तव ॥

After that they assembled on the bank of that river and made Yaugandhari their king. But after this event they moved on further to the east and south. Their occupation of the territory round about Alwar is suggested by their proximity to the Matsyas in the *Mahābhārata*[105]. According to the *Candravṛtti* on *Candra* 11, 4,103[106], Udumbara, living in the Kangra valley with their centre at Pathankot, Tilakhala or Tilabhara of *Mahābhārata* (VI, 10,51), occupying the area south of Beas near the Hoshiarpur district, Madrakāra or Madra, inhabiting the territory between the Ravi and the Chenab with their capital at Sialkot, Yugandhara on the Yamunā near Jagādharī, perhaps, the site of the modern industrial town called Yamunānagara, Bhulinga, Bolingae of Ptolemy and Kulinga of *Mahābhāratā*, (VI, 10, 38) in the north-west of the Aravallis on the main road connecting Sāketa and Kekaya, and Śaradaṇḍa near Sarasvatī, which formed the boundary between the Prācya and the Udīcya Pañcālas, formed the Sālva confederacy. In the opinion of Przyluski, who has studied the history of the Sālva in detail, the word *sālva* means an animal like stag or gazelle. From the root, underlying the word *sālva*, has also come the word śarabha, which is the name of a fabulous animal of the stag species. Among the Sālva the chase of the śarabha was a feature of the ceremony of the investiture of a universal monarch. This animal had a special sanctity among the nomadic peoples of the steppes chiefly the Scythians. The Russian scholar Nicholas Marr was of the view that the deer was used for riding before the horse in Central Asia. Recently M. P. Griaznov, excavating a large kurgan in the eastern Altai, known as the Pazirik kurgan, has found the bodies of ten horses each with saddle and trappings. The heads of two of these horses were covered with masks. One of them, made of leather, represents the head of a deer. The other, made of felt, has the shape of a griffin. In Griaznov's opinion the deer

105. *Mahābhārata*, Virāṭparvan 29, 2; Bhīṣmaparvan 10, 3; Udyogaparvan. 4, 24.

106. *Candravyākaraṇa* 11, 4, 103.

उदुम्बरास्तिलखला मद्रकारा युगन्धरा ।
भूलिङ्गाः शरदण्डाश्च साल्वावयवसंज्ञिताः ॥

mask is an evidence for Marr's theory, mentioned above.[107] Thus the very name of Sālva bespeaks a Scythian origin.[108] The modern sub-caste of *Salūjā* (Skt. Sālvaja) probably denotes the descendants of the ancient Sālva. In course of time, the Madras came to have an importance of their own in the Panjab.

16. *Madra, Bhadra, Mālava.*

In Prākrit the word *madra* becomes *malla*, *dr* being changed into *ll*.[109] *Malla* is the same as *malloi* of the Greeks and *mālava* of the Epic. It is significant that the sons of Aśvapati, king of the Madras, were called Mālavas after their mother, according to a decree of Yama. This shows that Madra and Mālava represented the same people. In the Bhīṣmaparvan their western (pratīcya) and northern (udīcya) sections are distinctly mentioned. The Sikhs of the districts of Ferozpur, Ludhiana, Patiala, Jind and Malerkotala are still known as Mālava Sikhs, probably, because these regions were populated by the Mālavas in ancient times. About the beginning of the Christrin era the Mālavas moved to the south and settled in central and south-eastern Rajputana. According to Przyluski, the Madras and Audumbaras, two important tribes of the Sālva confederacy, became known as Mālavas and Kṣudrakas, whose close association is indicated by the Greek historians and Pāṇini's commentators.

A variant of Madra was Bhadra. In the *Kāśikā* Madrakāra is replaced by Bhadrakāra. In the *Vinaya* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins[110] the capital of the Madras, Śākala, is known as Bhadraṅkara.[111] The famous physician Jīvaka is stated to have travelled from Takṣaśilā to Bhadraṅkara, where he passed the summer, and thence repaired to Udumbara, where he cured a sickman; from there he reached Rohitaka

107. M. P. Griaznov, 'The Pazirik Burials of Altai' *American Journa of Archaeology* Vol. 37 (1933). pp. 30-44.

108. J. Przyluski, 'Les Sālvasa' *Journal Asiatique* (1929) pp. 312-325.

109. J. Przyluski, 'Les Oudoumbarasa' *Journal Asiatique* (1926) pp. 1-20; Pischel, *Grammatik der Prākrit Sprachen* S. 294; J. Bloch, *La formation de la langue marathe* S. 141.

110. Jean Przyluski, 'Le Nord-Ouest de l' Inde dans le Vinaya des Mūlasarvāstivādins', *Journal Asiatique*, (1914) 11 pp. 493. et seq.

111. J. F. Fleet, *Actes du XIVe Congrés des Orientalistes* (1905) p. 164.

and then went to Mathurā. In the *Mahāmāyūrī*[112] the Yakṣa Śaila is said to have been worshipped at Bhadrapura, which is a variant of Bhadraṅkara and stands for Śākala. Bhadra becomes *bhalla* as Madra becomes *malla*. In the Gaṇapāṭha on Pāṇini-sūtra IV, 2, 75 *bhalla* comes before *malla* or mala. In Panjabi the sonant becomes mute and in the dialects of the Himalayan zone the aspiration is dropped. Thus *bha* is pronounced as *pa* and bhalla becomes pahlava, which denotes the Iranians. Another variant of these words is *bāhlīka*, which stands for the Bactrians. To sum up, the facts that Mālavī was the wife of the Madra King Aśvapati, Bhadrā was the mother of the Madras, being the wife of Vyuṣitāśva, and Bālhikī was the title of Pāṇḍu's wife Mādrī, the mother of Nakula and Sahadeva, show that the people, bearing these various names, were of Irano-Bactrian origin. In other words, the Pāṇḍava twins, Nakula and Sahadeva, being connected with the Madras, are symbolic of the Iranian tribes, Māda or Mede.

16. *The Madra women.*

The Madras were noted for feminine beauty. Their tall, pretty and fair women were famous far and wide.[113] In the *Karṇaparvan* a Madra, who had come to live among the Kurus, is represented as yearning for his return to his native place beyond the Śatadru and the Irāvatri to enjoy the company of charming women.[114] In Pāli commentaries there is an interesting anecdote of Pippalī Māṇavaka of a village of the Brāhmaṇas, named Mahātittha, in Magadha, whose parents deputed eight emissaries to search a bride for him in the likeness of

112. Sylvain Lévi, Le catalogue géographique des Yakṣa dans a Mahāmāyurī, *Journal Asiatique* (1955) I p. 19.

ककुच्छन्दः पाटलिपुत्रे स्थूणायां चापराजितः ।
शैले भद्रपुरे यक्षः उत्तरायां च मानवः ॥

113. *Mahābhārata* VIII, 44, 18.

मनःशिलोज्जवलापांग्यो गौर्यस्त्रिककुदां जनाः ।
कम्बलाजिनसंवीताः क्रन्दंत्यः प्रियदर्शनाः ॥

114. *Mahābhārata* VIII, 44,17.

शतद्रुकामहं तीर्त्वा तां रम्यामिरावतीम् ।
गत्वा स्वदेशं द्रक्ष्यामि स्थूलशंखाः शुभाः स्त्रियः ॥

golden image of exceptional beauty, which he entrusted to them. Those persons, thinking that Madradeśa was the receptacle of women (*Maddaraṭṭham nāma itthāgāro*), repaired to its city, called Sāgala, and found Bhadrā Kāpilāyanī, who even excelled that image in brilliance and beauty. Subsequently their marriage was arranged and soon after the ceremony they embraced asceticism and joined the Buddhist order.[115] This episode shows that the women of the Madra country were renowned even in distant Magadha in the time of Buddha. That the Madras had a custom of selling women and marrying them in consideration of the bride's price after the asura form is manifest from the insistence of Śalya before Bhīṣma on paying the same in lieu of the marriage of Mādrī with Pāṇḍu. Śalya defended the demand of the bride's price on the ground that it was an established ancestral custom amongst them, which he could ill afford to violate.[116] Thus it is clear that the marital and sexual laws of the Madras were different from those of the orthodox Brahmanical people and were in accord with those followed beyond the frontiers of their culture.

17. *The coming of the Jartas and the degeneration of the Madras.*

The Madras had come to settle in the region lying between the Ravi and the Chenab in ancient times. Their capital Śākala (Sāgala-nagara), mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*[117] and the

115. *Samyutta-nikāya-aṭṭhakathā* XV, 1, 11;
Anguttara-nikāya-aṭṭhakathā 1, 1, 4:
Theragāthā-aṭṭhakathā 30; *Therigāthā-aṭṭha-kathā* 68.

116. *Mahābhārata*. 1, 1229 ff.
पूर्वैः प्रवर्तितं किंचित्कुलेऽस्मिन्नृपसत्तमैः ।
साधु वा यदि वासाधु तन्नातिक्रान्तुमुत्सहे ॥
कुलधर्मः स नो वीर प्रमाणं परमं च तत् ।
तेन त्वां न ब्रवीम्येतदसंदिग्धं वचोऽरिहन् ॥
तं भीष्मः प्रत्युवाचेदं मद्रराजं जनाधिपः ।
धर्म एषः परो राजन् स्वयमुक्तः स्वयम्भुवा ॥
नात्र कश्चन दोषोऽस्ति पूर्वैर्विधिरयं कृतः ।

117. *Mahābhārata*, 11,32, 14-15.
ततः शाकलमभ्येत्य भद्राणां पुटभेदनम् ।
मातुलं प्रीतिपूर्वेण शल्यं चक्रे वशे बली ॥

Jātakas[118], stood on the bank of the Āpagā in a tongue of land between two rivers, called the Śākaladvīpa, which corresponds to the Rechna doab. The early Madra kings like Aśvapati, whose daughter Sāvitrī is famous in Hindu legends, were virtuous and good-natured. But it appears that the infiltration of fresh elements had accentuated their outlandish manners and customs. In the *Udyogaparvan* the camp of Śalya is described as full of warriors, whose strange armours, bows and banners, unfamiliar trappings, vehicles and equipment and local costumes, ornaments and deportment presented a unique spectacle in the country of the Kurus.[119] It appears that the advent of the Jarttikas or Jartas, who are identical with the Iatioi, who, together with the Takhoroi, lived near the northern section of the Jaxartes around Taskend, according to Ptolemy, and whose modern descendants, called the Jats, are spread over the whole of the Panjab, and their occupation of the capital of the Madras, Śākkla, suggested in the *Mahābhārata*[120], was mainly responsible for the outlandish features of the Madras. These Jartas were alien to Indian culture, as is manifest from the tone of denunciation, in which their habit of drinking wine, fermented from jaggery and rice, and eating beef with garlic in the form of rolls and chops is referred to in the *Mahābhārata*.[121] As a result of these tribal admixtures, the Madras suffered a setback in the estimation of the orthodox people.

118. *Kalingabodhi Jātaka* (Fausböll) no. 479
Kusa Jātaka (Fausböll) no. 531.

119. *Mahābhārata*, IV, 8, 3-4

अक्षौहिणीपतिराजन् महावीर्यपराक्रमः ।
विचित्रकवचाः शूरा विचित्रध्वजकार्मुकाः ।
विचित्राभरणाः सर्वे विचित्ररथवाहनाः ।
विचित्रस्रग्धराः सर्वे विचित्राम्बरभूषणाः ॥
स्वदेशवेशभरणा वीरा शतसहस्रशः ।

120. *Mahābhārata* VIII (Karṇa) 44, 10 तस्य सेनाप्रणेतारो बभवुः क्षत्रियर्षभाः ।

शाकलं नाम नगरमापगा नाम निम्नगा ।
जर्तिका नाम वाहीकास्तेषां वृत्तं सुनिन्दितम् ॥

121. *Mahābhārata*. VIII, 44, 11.

धानागौड्यासवं पीत्वा गोमांसं लशुनैः सह ।
अपूपमांसवाट्यानामशिनः शीलवर्जिताः ॥

18. *Pāṇḍu and Pandoouoi.*

We have observed that the five Pāṇḍava brothers stand for a group of tribes known in Iran and India. Before considering other aspects of their history, it would be interesting to study the name Pāṇḍava, which they collectively bear. We have seen above that the name Pāṇḍu, borne by their father, indicates pale or yellow complexion, which characterised the Kirātas according to the Indian conception. We learn from Pali texts that King Pukkusāti of Gandhāra, who was a contemporary of King Bimbisāra of Magadha, was attacked by a tribe called Pāṇḍava.[122] The Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa mentions the Pāṇḍavas together with the north-western peoples, the Kambojas, Pārśvas, Daradas etc. Ptolemy also locates a tribe, known as Pandoouoi,[123] in the Panjab and Raychoudhury identifies them with the Ārjunāyanas.[124] This identification may not be correct, but the fact that Pāṇḍu was also symbolic of a tribe admits of no doubt.

19. *The tribal symbology of the five Pāṇḍavas.*

The number five of the Pāṇḍava brothers is very significant. We know that a Eurasian nomad horde was usually an association of constituent tribes and styled itself as "the so-many--so--and--so" e.g., 'the ten (tribes of) Uigurs' (*onughur*), 'the nine (tribes of) Ārśi' (*Toguz Ārśin*), 'the four (tribes of) twghry' (*Cahār Toghristān*) etc. The Pāṇḍavas were a group of five tribes, Ārjunayānas, Vṛkas, Yaudheyas and two tribes of the Madras, whose number has a great historical and geographical significance. We know that the country between Qazwin and Ardalān, south of the Caspian Sea, was called *Khamsāh*, which is the Arabic word for '*five*'. In this region the Assyrians built a fortress on the border between the independent territory of Asagartā and the Assyrian protectorate, called Mannai, in the southern part of the Urmiyan Basin between the southern end

122. T.W. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India* p. 28; G. P. Malalasekera, *Op. cit.* Vol. II p. 215; Félix Lacote, *Essay on Guṇāḍhya* English translation by Rev. A.M. Tabard p. 176 *Papañcasūdānī* 11, 982.

123. *Indian Antiquary* Vol. XIII pp. 331, 349.

124. H.C. Raychoudhury, *Political History of Ancient India* (5th. ed) p. 545.

of the Lake (Urmiyāh) and Parsua, which they called *Panzis*.[125] Sargon refers to this *Panziś*, "the strong fortress, that lies over against the lands of Zikirtu and Andia" in the record of his eighth campaign of 714 B.C.[126] This word *panziś* is an Assyrian version of *panza*, meaning five in old Persian, and *pañca*, which is reminiscent of the Völkerwanderung of the five tribes, consti tuting the north-western branch of the Asagartiyā in that region. It appears that the five tribes symbolised by the Pāṇḍava fraternity, were the left wing of an ex-Eurasian nomad people, whose right wing gave its name to Panziś or Khamsāh near Lake Urmiyah in the mountainous region between Qazwin and the lower valleys of the rivers Aras and Kur.

Our enquiry heretofore has led us to hold that the Pāṇḍavas signify a confederacy of five tribes, which moved into India from Central Asiatic regions. Some of the constituent tribes of this group entered into Iran also. In this group the Ārjunāyanas and Vṛkas had Scythian elements among them and the Yaudheyans and Madras were Iranian tribes. Thus the advent of these tribes signified a Scytho-Iranian invasion of northern India, with whom some Mongoloid tribes of the North-West also seem to have cooperated. Curiously enough, we have some facts to show that the Scythians invaded India and spread in her northern regions many centures before the invasion of the Śakas about the dawn of the Christian era.

20. *The Saka invasion of India of the 9th century B.C.*

In the beginning of the first millenium B. C. there was one of those nomadic upsurges at the eastern extremity of the steppes, which touched off a vast Völkerwanderung over the Eurasian heartland. The hordes, living there, which the Chinese called Hiung-nu, began to expand and conquer all around and dislocated their western neighbours, who began to march westwards. By the ninth century B.C. they were causing such extensive damage that the Chinese Emperor Suan (27-781 B.C.) had to take military action against them. Beaten off in this way, the Hiung-nu dislodged their western neighbours. "These,

125. E. Forrer, *Die Provinzeinteilung des Assyrischen Reiches*. p. 75; N. Adontz, *Histoire d' Arménie, les origines* (Paris 1946) pp. 102, 367.

126. D.D. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia* (Chicago 1926-27) Vol. II pp. 150-151.

in turn, cannoned into the next tribe, which duly lashed out against the tribe, living on its western flank, so that the entire steppe was soon in motion, each tribe attacking its western neighbour in an effort to secure new pastures" (T. Talbot Rice, *The Scythians* p. 43). About 800 A.D. a severe drought in the steppes accelerated this tribal flux and unrest. (Ellsworth Huntington, *The Pulse of Asia* p. ix) As a result, the Massagatae, living to the north of the Oxus, assaulted the Scythians, who lashed out against the Eastern Cimmerians and defeated them by reason of their superior strategy characterised by the use of saddles and probably thongs acting as leather stirrups and the practice of shooting arrows on horseback. (M. I. Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks* p. 40). The Cimmerians descended though the Dariel Pass into Urartu. The Scythians continued the march, one section crossing either the Jaxartes or the Volga and pressing into South Russia, and another turning aside from the Dariel Pass and swooping down the Derbend defile on the shores of Lake Urmia at the time of Sargon of Assyria.

The Cimmerians and Scythians figure in the *Genesis* in the famous Table of Nations, which "is derived largely from a document of the tenth century B. C. as references to Assyria and Arabia fit this general period better than any other" (W.F. Albright, *From the Stone Age to Christianity* p. 251). Albright holds that the movements of the Cimmerians and Scythians started at a considerably earlier date than is usually supposed. The cuneiform references point to this conclusion [J. Wiesner, *Der Alte Orient* Vol. 38 (1939) p. 75].

During these movements and migrations in the beginning of the first millenium B.C. the Scythians invaded India and Iran also.

Prof. Przyluski has pointed out that the name of the capital of the Madras, Śākala, and that of the region between the Ravi and the Chenab, Śākaladvīpa, are based on the word *śaka* and are indicative of a Śaka invasion. Likewise, the name of the clan Śākya, to which Buddha belonged, enshrines a reminiscence of the word *śaka*. It is significant that in the grammar of Pāṇini the name Śākya is derived from the word *śaka*. In IV, 3 92 the formation of a group of words like शाण्डिक्य with the addition of the suffix ञ्य् and the consequent वृद्धि of the initial vowel is taught शाण्डिकादिभ्यो ञ्यः. In the Gaṇapāṭha,

appended to this sūtra, the word *śaka* also occurs, which leads to the formation of *śākya*, the name of the clan of Buddha. The name of the Śākya exile Śambaka, probably śyāmaka of the *Divyāvadāna* and Siauakos of the Greek writers, who is stated in the Tibetan *Dulva* to have been banished for killing persons during the attack of the Śākyas by the Kosalan King Viḍuḍabha and populated the country of Bakuḍa, where he preached the sanctity and inviolability of the stag, which is held sacred among the Scythians, is also taken to represent the Śakas.[127] Przyluski holds that the equality of men and women, preached by Buddha, and his first instruction to two persons of the clan of his mother and thereafter the initiation of three men of the clan of his father, showing his preference for his maternal clan, are in accord with the primacy of women among the Scythians, notably the Issedones.[128] He traces some features of the solar cult of royalty in ancient India to Central Asiatic influences. The horse-chariot race in the Vājapeya ritual and the horse-itinerary and sacrifice in the Aśvamedha are also equated with the practices of the Steppes noted by Chinese writers. The propagation of the use of iron, characteristic of the culture of Hallstatt in the valley of the Danube, is also held to be due to the movements of the Scythians. To quote Przyluski, "Il s'agissait de montrer l' importance de la route des steppes que nous apprait maintenant comme le grand axe du continent formé par l'Europe et l'Asie. C'est le long de cette voie royale qu'au cours du premier millénaire se sont propagés la métallurgie du fer, et en meme temps que ce procédé technique, des innovations decisives dans l'ordre politique et religieux; le culte du Soleil et la notion de la royauté universelle. Dans cette propagation d'éléments culturels, dont les civilizations les plus diverses se sont enrichies successivement, les Scythes ne paraissent pas avoir joué un rôle très personnel; ils ont surtout transmis ce que d'autres avaient crée; ils ont été comme l'insecte qui transporte le pollen d'une fleur à une autre."[129]

127. Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha* p. 118; *Divyāvadāna* ed. Cowell p. 580; Sylvain Lévi, 'Catalogue géographique des Yaksa dans le Mahāmāyurī', *Journal Asiatique* (1915) pp. 61, 73, 97.

128. J. Przyluski 'Nouveaux aspects de l'historire des Scythes' *Revue de l'université de Bruxelles* Vol. 42 (1937) pp. 209-223

129. J. Przyluski, 'Les Scythes et la propagation de la civilization de Hallstatt,' *Revue de l'université de Bruxelles* Vol. 42 (1936-37) p. 307.

Some evidence of the advent of the Śakas into India before their contact with this country in the second century B.C. is afforded by the reference to some cities of the Panjab, whose names had the ending *Kanthā*. Such cities existed in the Varṇu (Bannu) country[130] and the region of the Uśinaras[131] extending from the Ravi up to Kankhala and even beyond that region.[132] Instances of *Kanthā*-ending place-names are given in VI, 2, 125 and the gaṇas, appended thereto, as Cīhaṇakantha, Maḍarakantha, Vaitulakantha, Paṭatkakantha, Vaiḍālikarṇakantha, Kukkuṭakantha and Citkaṇakantha.[133] We learn from the *Vinaya* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins that Buddha visited a village called *Kanthā* (Tibetan, *Kantha*) in the North-West, where he converted a Yakṣī and her family.[134] *Kanthā* is a Śaka word for city[135] and is skin to *Kadhāvara* or *Kanthāvara* of Kharoṣṭhi inscriptions, *Kand* of Persian, *Kanthā* of Khotanese, *Kndh* of Sogdian, *Kandai* of Pushto, *Kanda* or *Koent* of the dialect of the Ṛṣikas or the Yue-che labelled as *Asica* by Bailey.[136] It is significant that the land beyond the Oxus, the Urheimat of the Śakas, abounds in Kanthā-ending place-names like Samarkand, Khokand, Chimkand, Tashkand, Panjkand, Yarkand etc.[137] The existence of place-names of Śaka appearance in the whole of the Panjab from the Bannu valley to the Kankhala region and even beyond suggests an intrusion of the Śakas long before the time of Pāṇini, who is known to have flourished one generation before the invasion of Alexander the Great.[138] The reference to the stepped-well, called Śakandhu after the Śakas, together with that worked by Persian wheel, known as Karkandhu

130. Pāṇini IV, 2, 103 वर्णौ वुक्, Ibid II, 4, 20 संज्ञायांकन्थोशीनरेषु
131. *Ibid* 11, 4, 20.
132. *Ibid* IV, 2, 142 कंथापलदनगरग्रामह्रदोत्तरपदात्, e,g, दाक्षिकन्थीयम्
see also IV, 2, 102, कन्थायाष्टक्; VI, 2, 124 कन्थाच
133. Pānini VI, 2, 125. आदिश्चिहणादीनाम्
134. J. Przyluski, 'Le Nord-Ouest de l' Inde' *Journal Asiatque*, 1914 p.513.
135. Sten Konow, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol 11 intro. p. 43; *Saka Studies* pp. 42, 149.
136. H.W. Bailey, 'Asica', *Transactions of the Philological Society* (1945) pp. 22-23.
137. V.S.Agrawala, *India as known to Pāṇini* p.68; 'Some Foreign Words in Ancient Sanskrit Literature', *Indian Historical Quarterly* (1951) pp. 10-11.
138. Sylvain Lévi, 'Notes sur l' Inde a l'époque d'Alexandre' *Journal Asiatique* (1890) 1 p. 234.

after the Karkians, in a vārtika of Kātyāyana also leads to the same conclusion.[139] According to Aesianus, the Śakas lived at the north-western Indian borders at the time of Alexander's invasion.[140] Tarn interprets a passage of Strabo to mean that in the seventh century the Śakas had occupied Bactria.[141] That this tide of Śaka invasion, descending from the north-west, touched the eastern extremity of India, is manifest from the traditions of the Purāṇas that the Śakas advanced to Ayodhyā during the reign of King Bāhu and his son Sagara checked and repelled them.[142]

Recent archaeological explorations, particularly in Seistan at the site of Nad-i-Ali, about 12 kilometres to the south of Qala-i-Kang, have thrown new light on the early movements of the Scythians. At this site there is a mound, called Surkh-Dagh, because of the masses of burnt bricks lying there, and at a distance of about 400 metres is the mound known as Safed-Dagh. Near these sites are the ruins of ancient habitations. René Ghirshman has found polychrome ceramic at Nad-i-Ali, which, in his opinion, seems to have some resemblance with that of South Russia. He has also picked up grey-black potshreds, which have affinities with those of Necropolis B at Sialk dated about tenth or ninth century B.C. The building processes at both the places are also more or less the same. The most significant finds at that site are the bronze arrowheads having triangular barbs. Such arrowheads are found in Cis, Transcaucasia, Bögaz-Kui, Gordion and Tepe Alishar. They are particularly associated with the Scythians and are called "Graeco-Scythian".[143] Their place of origin seems to be South Russia, which came under the influence of the Scythians very early. The discovery of Scythian arrowheads at a site of the beginning of the first millenium B.C., such as Nad-i-Ali, unmistakably indicate the Völkerwanderung of the Scythians

139. Kātyāyana's *Vārtika* on *Pāṇini* 1, 1, 64 शकन्ध्वादिषु पररूपं वाच्यम्

140. Flavius Arrianus, *Anabasis Alexandri* ed-E. Iliff Robson, in *The Loeb Classical library* Vol 11 p. 234.

141. W.W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India* p. 283.

142. *Viṣṇupurāṇa* IV, 3; *Vāyupurāṇa* ch. 88; *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* ch 63.

143. René Ghirshman, 'Recherches prehistoriques dans la partie Afghane du Seistan', in Hackin, Carl et Meunié *Diverses Recherches Archeologiques en Afghanistan* (Paris 1959), p. 43, 47.

in these regions in that age. From Afghanistan (Seistan) it was natural and easy for the Scythians to invade north-western India also.

In southern Turkmenia Russianar chaeologists have explored the sites of Namazga-Tepe and Kara-Tepe, which have revealed a civilization analogous to that of Mundigak in Afghanistan, Sadaat, Keshi-Beg and Kile-Gul-Mohammad near Quetta in Baluchistan and Kot-Diji and other sites in Sind. It is characterised by a bichrome pottery of one and the same style. Suddenly this pottery-tradition comes to an end and is replaced by another hand-made type having a violet decoration on a red background. The decorative motifs are mostly geometric. This change is accompanied by the sudden abandonment of the sites of Tchoust, Ashkal-Tépé etc. in Ferghana. It suggests an invasion of the regions from Ferghana and Turkmenia to Mundigak by a new people. The famous Russian archaeologist S.P. Tolstov is of the opinion that the invaders came from the Chinese territory. They occupied these regions and particularly the mines of lapis-lazuli in Badakhshan. This explains the sudden decrease in the supply of this material in Egypt as well as in Mesopotamia during the Akkadian period. Thus the Near-East and the East were cut off from each other and the vital links, later known as the Silk Route, were snapped.[144] This Völkerwanderung from the direction of China unmistakably seems to have included the Scythian or nomadic elements, which were found there, as shown by Otto Maenchen-Helfen. This movement had an inevitable repercussion in Afghanistan, Baluchistan and the Panjab, as the archaeological finds testify.

Considering the political situation in Eurasia in the beginning of the first millenium B.C., Arnold J. Toynbee has observed as follows :—

"It is tempting to conjecture that the warlike communities, that were encountered by Alexander the Great in the Indus Valley in 327-324 B.C., were the descendants of Eurasian nomads, who had been deposited there by a more recent

144. Jean Marie Casal, 'Les débuts de la civilization de l'Indus à la lumiére de fouille récentes', *Academie des Inscriptions et Belles-letters, Comptes-rendus* 1960 pp. 312-314.

Völkerwanderung than that of the Aryas. The most recent period of aridity and effervescence on the Steppes may have run from about 825 to about 525 B.C., and this period partly coincides in date with both the Babylonic 'Time of Troubles' (1000-600 B.C.) and the Syriac 'Time of Troubles' (925-525 B.C.). In that age south-western Asia had been overrun by the Eurasian Nomad Cimmerians and Scyths. Did one wing of this invading horde turn south-eastward after breaking out of the Steppe between the Pamirs and the Caspian, as the Aryan conquerors of the Indus Valley had turned south-eastward in their day, when their Hyksos comrades had swept on across 'Iraq and Syria into Egypt? Perhaps the Pactyes on the Indo-Iranian border were part of the off-spring of this *apodasmos*, whatever we are to make of problemetical Pactyes in Cappadocia.........."[145]

Infact, as seen above, there are definite, though scanty, evidences of the Scythian invasion of Afghanistan and North India in the age under consideration. Toynbee's question, suggested by a strong probability of historical situations, can now he answered in the affirmative on the basis of the evidence, legendary, linguistic and archaeological at our disposal.

21. *The Śaka invasion of Iran in the ninth and eighth centuries B.C.*

This early Völkerwanderung of the Śakas not only engulfed Northern India but also swept through Iran and flooded Seistan. Ciśpiś, the son of Hakhāmaniś, has a name resembling that of the Cimmerian worlord Teuśpu, who fought with the Assyrian monarch Esarhaddon (681-668 B.C.).[146] It is significant that Herodotus calls Ciśpiś's wife, the mother of Cyrus 1, Spako-

145. Arnold J. Toynbee, *A Study of History* Vol. V p. 274 Olaf Caroe also holds that the language of the Pathans is a Saka dialect introduced from the north. In Pushtu, for example 'd' is changed into 'l' [Persian pidar (father)=Pushtu *pilar*; Persian *didan* (to see)=Pushtu *eidal*; Persian *dukhtar* (daughter) =Pushtu *lur*]. Likewise in the name Spalagadama and Spalahora *spala* stands for *spada* meaning an army. [Olaf Caroe, *The Pathans* pp. 65-66]

146. D.D. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia* Vol 11 pp. 516, 530, 546.

the bitch-a name connected with that of the Scythian warlord Iśpākai, who rode hard at the Cimmerians' heels.[147] These names, Ciśpiś and Śpako, seem to be symbolic of the dynastic relationship of the Cimmerians and Scythians, who played a notable part in the foundation of the Achaemenian empire in Iran. The Cimmerians and Scythians, the Gimirrai and Ishkuzai of Assyrian Annals, were closely related. They spoke almost identical languages and lived by plunder. In the reign of Sargon II Urārtu bore the brunt of their invasion and, though they were repulsed, they devastated the country so much that the king Rusas I had to commit suicide in despair. Splitting into two, one group of the Cimmerians moved along Lake Urmia and appeared among the allies of Kaśathrita, while the bulk of their cavalry swooped on Asia Minor and spelled the doom of the Phyrigian and Lydian Kingdoms. Shortly afterwards Assurbanipal defeated them in the gorges of Cilicia and their remnants fled and joined up with the Scythian bands. During the reign of Esarhaddon the Scythians established themselves to the south and south-east of Lake Urmia and founded their capital at Sakiz, a town which still bears the impress of their name. Under their king Partatua, the Protothyes of Herodotus, they occupied the greater part of the province now known as Azerbaijan. Faced by the menace to Urartu, the Assyrian monarch sought the alliance of the Scythians, whose king Partatua was emboldened to demand the hand of an Assyrian princess. The power of the Scythians grew under Partatua's son Madyes, who invaded Media and reigned there for 28 years (653-625), according to Herodotus. This success nerved the Scythians to fall out with the Assyrians and launch an attack westwards. They laid waste Assyria and sacked and pillaged Asia Minor, North Syria, Phoenesia, Damascus and Palestine. The memory of their raid is preserved in Jeremiah (IV, 13) who foretold it as follows : "A destroyer of nations is on his way—Behold he shall come up as clouds and his chariots shall be as the whirlwind : his horses are swifter than eagles. Woe unto us : for we are spoiled."[148] The Pharaoh bought their withdrawal from the Egyptian frontier. In Iran, the Median

147. D.D. Luckenbill *Op-cit* Vol. II pp. 517, 533; F.W. König *Alteste Geschichte der Meder und Perser* pp. 27-31 quoting *Herodotus* Book I ch. 110.

148. R. Ghirshman, *Iran* p. 99.

Cyaxares, who had reorganized his army by adopting the tactics of Scythian horsemen, inflicted a defeat on Madyes and we perhaps find an echo of the Scythian invasion in the remark of Arrian that "Idanthyrsos, the Skythian, issuing from Skythia subdued many nations of Asia and carried his victorious arms even to the borders of Egypt before the invasion of Alexander.[149]

The settlement of Eurasian nomad immigrants in Luristan is proved by the "animal style" of the local school of bronze work and its expansion from Luristan to Fars during the reign of Ciśpiś is indicated by the extension of this art-style over this vast territory.[150] The bronzes of Luristan lead one to conclude that they must have belonged to an *élite* clan of warrior horsemen and charioteers, who were reluctant to settle on the land and for this reason valued portable goods. Though this art reveals Hurrian and Assyrian elements, it has a prominent Scythian look. The belt—plaques, in particular, betray the classic art of the Scythians, as known from excavations in South Russia. This Scythian period of Iranian history is best illustrated by the discoveries at śakiz, the Saka settlement to the south of Lake Urmia. Some of the typically Assyrian articles, found there, seem to represent the gifts from the Assyrian court to Partatua or Madyes. Among the purely Scythian pieces, there is a gold scabbard, decorated in relief with a cluster of ibex-heads, the curve of the horns forming a lyre, and splendid gold plaques, depicting heads of lynxes full face joined to each other by ribbons. Of particular interest is a silver dish 14 inches in diameter showing crouching animals like lynxes and hares running towards the right in concentric circles. On this dish appear some hieroglyphic signs, which constitute the earliest known Scythian document. Among the gold terminals of furniture, one represents the *protome* of a bird of prey with a curved beak and round eye, another, a lion in a placid pose, and a third, ducks touching each other with their heads bent back. All these are typical Scythian motifs.[151] Scythian art continued to influence the art of Iran in the Achaemenian period. Excavations of the ruins of Persepolis have yielded thousands of fragments of stone vases, some ornamented with

149. J. W. McCrindle *Megasthenes and Arrian* p. 201.
150. G.G. Cameron, *A History of Early Iran* (Chicago, 1936) pp. 183-184.
151. R. Ghirshman, *Iran* pp. 105, 107, 109-110.

heads of ducks and swans, which were typically Scythian motifs.[152] Thus we observe that the Cimmerians and Scythians played a notable part in the history of early Iran. After their advent the Kurus and Kambojas appear to have reinforced their ranks. It was out of the turmoil of these tribal movements that the Achaemenian empire emerged in Iran.

22. *Śaka element in the Iranian Epic.*

The advent of the Śakas in Iran is signalised by a number of heroic myths and legends, which obtained a lasting place in the folklore of that country. The cycle of tales, associated with Zal and Rustam, is a significant illustration of Scythian influence. It is noteworthy that these heroes are not known to the *Avesta*, and the tales, relating to them, are distinct from the rest of the matter of the Iranian epic both in its local colour and fabulous atmosphere.[153] These legends are definitely associated with the two East Iranian provinces of Seistan and Zabulistan in the basin of the river Helmund. When the Arab conquerors pushed their way into Seistan, they found these a place called "the stall of Rustam's Horse" (Raksh-i-Rustam).[154] In the *Shāh-nāma* of Firdausi, Rustam is often called *Sagzi* by his antagonists evidently in view of his Śaka origin. It is also well-known that Rustam was not liked by the orthodox Zoroastrians, because he is known to have killed Isfandiyār, who was not only a crown-prince, but also a great champion and propagator of the new religion of Zarathushtra.[155] These considerations vouch for the outlandish character and Scythian affinity of Rustam. The fact that his ancestors bear Iranian names does not detract from his Śaka affiliations, since the Śakas themselves were a branch of the Iranian race speaking a language of Iranian family. The fact that Seistan was populated by the śakas

152. R. Ghirshman, *Iran* p. 176.

153. T. Nöldeke, *Das Iranische Nationalepos* 2nd edition pp.9-10.

154. T. Nöldeke, *Op. cit* p. 11.

155. I owe this important information to Prof. J.E. Senjana, Vide his letter dated 5-12-56. The equation of the name of Rustam with the Avestan *Raodhastakhma*, even if plausible, though discountenanced by Nöldeke, does not invalidate the thesis, enunciated above, since the Śakas were Iranians *par excellence*. Recently, two Sogdian fragments of the episodes of the Rustam story have been found [E. Benveniste, *Textes sogdiens* pp. 134-136]. They have strengthened the view that the Rustam story is of Scythian origin. H.W. Bailey calls Rustam a Scythian hero. (H. W. Bailey. '*The Persian Language*' in A. J. Arberry '*The Legacy of Persia*').

before the sixth century B.C. has been ably shown by F. W. Themas.[156] But very soon these early Śakas merged in the sedentary population and culture of the Iranians so that Darius could not note their identity and mentioned the Śakas in the truly nomadic sense of the term in the land around Sogdiana. Likewise, the traces of the śaka intrusion into India were totally wiped out, except for some place-names, noted by a grammarian, interested in linguistic peculiarities, and some faint traditions lost in the multitudinous amalgam of legendary lore.

23. *The Mahābhārata a record of the Scytho-Iranian invasion of India of the 9th century B.C.*

The above account of the Völkerwanderung of the Śakas in Iran and India in the opening centuries of the first millenium B.C. found its poetic expression in the songs, lays and ballads, marked by herorism, fatalism and boisterousness, embedded in the *Shāh-nāmā* and the *Mahābhārata*. As seen above, there was a movement of the Eurasian nomads in Iran in the ninth and eighth centuries B.C., in which the Yautiyā, Marciyā and Asagartiyā figured prominently and in the heels of whom the Cimmerians, Scythians, Kurus, Kambojas etc, entered Iran and contributed to the formation of the Achaemenian empire. An aggregation of the Eurasian nomads, consisting of more or less the same tribal ingredients, descended into Afghanistan and the Panjab in almost the same age. In this invasion or migration the Śakas and their kindred migrating tribes were predominant. The advent of the Pāṇḍavas, commemorated in the *Mahābhārata*, reflects this invasion of India of the 9th century B.C. It may be noted that Raychoudhury places the accession of Parīkṣita, which followed the *Mahābhārata* war, in the 9th century B.C.[157] This date accords with the data of the nomadic invasion of Iran and the Panjab in that century.

156. F.W. Thomas, 'Sakaśthāna : Where dwelt the Śakas named by Darius and Herodotus, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* London (1906)pp. 181-200, addition in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1906) pp. 460-464. The archaeological research at Nad-i-Ali in Seistan, conducted by Ghirshman and quoted above, confirms the view of F.W. Thomas.

157. H. C. Raychoudhury, *Political History of Ancient India* (5th edition) p. 36.

24. *The dislocation of the Gāndhāras and the First Battle of Kurukṣetra.*

Whenever a tribe descended into the Panjab or an army of invaders swooped down that region, it dislocated and rooted the peoples, settled in the north-west, and pushed them in the interior of the plains. The invasion of the tribes, symbolised in the Pāṇḍava fraternity, also deracinated the people of Gandhāra and goaded them down the glacis of the Panjab to collide with the Kurus on the historic battle-field of Kurukṣetra outside the gateway of the Gangetic region. We learn from the *Mahābhārata* that one generation before the famous war of Kurukṣetra between the Pāṇḍavas and the Kurus, a battle took place in the same field on the bank of the Saravatī between the Gandharvas of the north-west and the Kurus, in which the Kuru King Citrāngada lost his life.[158] These Gandharvas are identical with the Gāndhāras, both these words *gandharva* and *gandhāra* being related to the words *kudirei, kudri, kudira, kudure,* which denote 'horse' in the Dravidian languages, as shown by Jean Przyluski.[159] It appears that the accumulating pressure of the Pāṇḍava tribes resulted in the

158. *Mahābhārata.* 1, 101, 6-10.

स तु चित्राङ्गदः शौर्यात् सर्वान् चिक्षेप पार्थिवान् ।
मनुष्यं न हि मेने सः कंचिद् सदृशमात्मनः ॥
तं क्षिपन्तं सुरांश्चैव मनुष्यांनसुरांस्तथा ।
गन्धर्वराजो बलवान् तुल्यनामाऽभ्ययात्तदा ॥
तेनास्य सुमहद्युद्धं कुरुक्षेत्रे बभूव ह ।
तयोर्बलवतोस्तत्र गन्धर्वकुरुमुख्ययोः ॥
नद्यास्तीरे सरस्वत्याः समास्तिस्रोऽभवद्रणः ।
तस्मिन् विमर्दे तुमुले शस्त्रवर्षसमाकुले ।
मायाधिकोऽवधीद्वीरं गन्धर्वः कुरुसत्तमम् ।
सह त्वा तु नरश्रेष्टं चित्राङ्गदमरिन्दमम् ॥
अन्ताय कृत्वा गन्धर्वो दिवमाचक्रमे ततः ।

159. J. Przyluski, 'L'influence iranienne en Gréce et dans l'Inde' *Revue de l'université de Bruxelles* Vol 37 (1931-32) p. 285. It is significant that the Gandharvas are the people with the mouth of horse. In fact Gandharva is an equinine genic. Hence the resemblance of their name with a word for horse has a unique significance. That the Dravidian peoples once passed through the north-western regions of the Panjab is proved by the existence of an islet of their speech among the Brahuis. Probably the word Gandhāra also reflects the memory of their advance in that region. The equation of this word with that meaning a horse is in accord with the prominence of the horse in the northern regions.

movement of the people of Gandhāra towards the south-east, which developed into the invasion of the Kurus and the battle of Kurukṣetra, in which the Kuru chief lost the day. But this invasion was merely a forerunner of a bigger and mightier ouslaught of the Śaka-dominated nomadic tribes, symbolised in the conception of the Pāṇḍavas, which spelled the doom of the Kurus.

25. *The Pañcālas and their wars with the Kurus.*

The invasion of the Scytho-Iranian nomadic peoples, symbolised by the Pāṇḍavas, seems to have synchronized with the outbreak of hostilities between the Kurus and the Pañcālas. The Pañcālas represented an earlier horde of people, in which various tribes were grouped and which was dominated by the Keśins or Kassites. As I have shown elsewhere, the advent of the Pañcālas into India resulted from the movement of a group of tribes, led by the Kassites, that invaded Mesopotamia in the seventeenth century B.C. and overthrew the house of the Amorite Hammurabi. The composition of the Pañcālas agrees with the grouping of the Kassites and these two movements of tribes into Mesopotamia and India were synchronous developments involving two wings of the same Völkerwanderung.[160] After the settlement of the Pañcālas in the Gangetic valley with their seats at Ahichatrā and Kāmpilya, the Kurus descended from their Central Asiatic homelands and occupied the regions of the Purubharatas, assimilating them within their tribal structure, as seen above. This settlement of the Kurus on the gateway of the Gangetic valley opened an era of conflict and antagonism among them and the Pañcālas of the eastern Gangetic regions. The Vedic literature is full of references to the enmity of the Kurus and the Pañcālas and the Epic also repeatedly adverts to it. In the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (XII, 93, 3) (Macdonell and Keith: *Vedic Index* Vol. II p. 63) there is an allusion to the unfriendly relations between the Kurus and the Sṛñjayas, a constituent clan of the Pañcālas, and in the *Jaiminīya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa* (1,38, 1; XII, 4) there is a scene, in which the Kurus reproach the Dālbhyas, another clan associated with the Pañcālas. The *Mahābhārata* also preserves a memory of a

160. Ch. 3 above.

war between the king of the Pañcālas and the Puru-Bharata King Saṃvaraṇa, which resulted in the rout of the latter towards the Indus region. The Pañcālas are said to have dominated Kuruland, which is stated to have been visited with great misery, decadence and affliction. The Bharata King Saṃvaraṇa sought refuge in some remote fastness of the Indus region with his wife, sons, ministers and kinsmen and organised a campaign to recover his dominion under the leadership of Vaśiṣṭha.[611] Even the Great War of Kurukṣetra between the Kurus and Pāṇḍavas was essentially a conflict of the Kurus and the Sṛñjayas, whom I have identified with the Sarangai or Zranka or Drangians, as a perusal of the battle-chapters of the *Mahābhārata* shows. While depicting the scenes of the battle, the editor of these parvans repeatedly refers to the antagonism of the Kurus and the Sṛñjayas as his main refrain in such a way as to show that it was his central theme, which was subsequently overlaid with the episole of the Pāṇḍavas. In the Bhīṣmaparvan the Kurus are usually

161. *Mahābhārata*. 1, 89, 31, 41.

आर्क्षे संवरणे राजन् प्रशासति वसुन्धराम् ।
संक्षयः सुमहानासीत्प्रजानामिति शुश्रुमः ॥
व्यशीर्यंत ततो राष्ट्रं क्षयैर्नानाविधैस्तथा ।
क्षुन्मृत्युभ्यामनावृष्ट्या व्याधिभिश्च समाहतम् ॥
अभ्यघ्नन् भारताश्चैव सपत्नानां बलानि च ।
चालयन्वसुधां चैव बलेन चतुरंगिणा ॥
अभ्यायत्तं च पाञ्चाल्यो विजित्य तरसा महीम् ।
अक्षौहिणीभिर्दशभिः स एनं समरेऽजयत ॥
सदारः सामात्यः सपुत्रः ससुहृज्जनः ।
राजा संवरणस्तस्मादपलायत महाबलात् ॥
सिन्धोर्नदस्य महति निकुंजे न्यवसत्तदा ।
नदीविषयपर्यन्ते पर्वतस्य समीपतः ॥
तत्रावसन्बहून्कालान्भारता दुर्गमाश्रिताः ।
तेषां निवसतां तत्र सहस्रं परिवत्सरान् ॥
अथाभ्यगच्छद्भरतान् वसिष्टो भगवानृषिः ।
तभागतं प्रयत्नेन प्रत्युद्गम्याभिवाद्य च ॥
पुरोहितो भवान्नोऽस्तु राज्याय प्रयतामहे ।
ओमित्येव वसिष्ठोऽपि भरतान् प्रत्यपद्यत ॥
अथाभ्यषिञ्चत् साम्राज्ये सर्वक्षत्रस्य पौरवम् ।
विषाणभूतं सर्वस्यां पृथिव्यामिति नः श्रुतम् ॥
ततः स पृथिवीं प्राप्य पुनरीजे महाबलः ।
आजमीढो महायज्ञैर्बहुभिर्भूरिदक्षिणैः ॥

pitched against the Sṛñjayas.[162] When Bhīṣma and Arjuna were locked in a deadly encounter and the rest of the combatants were lulled with terror and astonishment, the Kurus and the Sṛñjayas looked aghast for a while together.[163] Again in the Karṇaparvan, when the opposite armies were suffering from the terrible blows of Arjuna and Karṇa, it was the Kurus and the Sṛñjayas, who bore the brunt of the main tussle.[164] Elsewhere also the Kurus always fight with the Sṛñjayas whereas other tribes meet other peoples, according to inherent antipathy or strategic circumstance.[165] Thus it is crystal clear that in the Great War of Kurukṣetra the traditional struggle between the Kurus and Sṛñjayas, who figured in the Pañcāla confederacy, was reinforced by the terrible onslaught of the Scytho-Iranian

162. *Mahābhārata* VI, 45, 1-2.
पूर्वाह्णे तस्य रौद्रस्य युद्धमह्नो विशाम्पते ।
प्रावर्त्तत महाघोरं राज्ञां देहावकर्तनम् ॥
कुरूणां सृंजयानां च जिगीषूणां परस्परम् ॥
सिंहानामिव सन्ह्रदो दिवमुर्वी च नादयन् ॥
Mahābhārata VI, 32, 15
तत्राद्भुतमपश्याहंमसंप्रहारं सुदारुणम् ।
यदकुर्वन् रणे शूराः सृंजयाः कुरुभिः सह ॥
Mahābhārata, VI, 73,41.
मुक्तकेशा विकवचा विरथाश्छिन्नकार्मुकाः ।
बाहुभिः समयुध्यन्त सृंजयाः कुरुभिः सह ।
163. *Mahābhārata* VI, 60, 29
एवंविधं कार्मुकभीमनादमदीनवत्सत्पुरुषोत्तमाभ्याम् ।
ददर्श लोकः कुरुसृंजयाश्च तद्वैरथं भीष्मधनञ्जयाभ्याम् ॥
Mahābhārata VI, 60, 29.
तस्मिन् तु कर्णार्जुनयोर्विमर्दे दग्धस्य रौद्रेहनिविद्रुतस्य ।
बभूव रूपं कुरुसृंजयानां बलस्य बाणोन्मथितस्य कीदृक् ॥
164. *Mahābhārata* VIII, 93, 1
एवं मारिषसंग्रामो नरवाजिगजक्षयः ।
कुरूणां सृंजयानां च देवासुरसमोऽभवत् ॥
165. *Mahābhārata* VIII, 47, 23.
स सन्निपातो रथयूथपानां बभूव राजन्नतिभीमरूपः ।
जनक्षयः कालयुगान्तकल्पः प्रावर्त्तताग्रे कुरुसृंजयानाम् ॥
Mahābhārata VIII, 57, 12.
ततः पुनः समाजग्मुरभीताः कुरुसृंजयाः ।
युधिष्ठिरमुखा पार्थाः सूतपुत्रमुखावयम् ॥
Mahābhārata VIII, 59, 1.

tribes included in the Pāṇḍava conception. It is significant that the Pāṇḍavas were matrimonially related to the Pañcālas and that the Pañcāla chief Dhṛṣṭadyumna was anointed as their commander-in-chief on the eve of the battle. It is also noteworthy that the Vedic texts refer to the animosity of the Kurus and Pañcālas only and are constantly silent about the conflict of the Kurus and the Pāṇḍavas. This shows that the estrangement of the Kurus and the Pañcālas was an event earlier than the Pāṇḍava invasion. It appears that when the conflict of the Kurus and the Pañcālas was heading towards a climax, the Pāṇḍava tribes suddenly broke through the Panjab, probably at the bidding and invitation of the Pañcālas, as happened repeatedly in Indian history, and made short shrift of the Kuru power, in alliance with them.

26 *The fall of the Kurus in the Second Battle of Kurukṣetra.*

The fall of the Kurus is the subject of the tragedy of the *Mahābhārata*. Hopkins has quoted a verse of the *Chandogya Upaniṣad* to show that the Kurus fell on evil days and a mare saved them.[166] The *Śānkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra* (XV, 16, 10-13) refers to the expulsion of the Kurus from Kurukṣetra as a result of a curse uttered by a Brāhmaṇa. The *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* 1, 10, 1[167] informs us that the swarms of locusts (*maṭaci*) devastated the crops of the Kuru country with the result that the family of Uśasti Cākrāyaṇa was reduced to great straits and bad to eat the beans from the plate, in which another person was eating. The Purāṇas state that during the reign of Adhisīmakṛṣṇa's son Nicakṣu, Hastināpura was washed away by a flood in the Ganges and the Kuru capital was shifted to Kauśāmbī.[168] In the Buddhist period the realm of the Kurus

166. *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* IV, 17, 9-10.
यतो यत् आवर्तंते तत् तद् गच्छति मानवः ; ब्रह्मैवैक ऋत्विक् कुरूनश्वाभिरक्षति
cited in E.W. Hopkins, *The Great Epic of India* p. 385 cp. S. Radhākrishnan, *The Principal Upanisads* p. 420.

167. S. Radhakrishnan, *The Principal Upanisads*. pp. 420-421.
मटचिहतेषु कुरूषु आटिक्या सह जायया उशस्तिर्ह चाक्रायण इभ्यग्रामे प्रद्राणक उवास

168. F. E. Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age* p. 5.
गंगयापहृते तस्मिन् नगरे नागसाह्वये ।
त्यक्तवा निचक्षु नगरं कौशाम्ब्यां च निवत्स्यति ॥

had shrunk to the position of an ordinary janapada having no imperial status. The *Somanassa Jātaka* (no 505) locates Uttra-Pañcāla-Nagara in Kururaṭṭha showing therely that the Pañcālas got a foothold in the land of the Kurus.

27. *The ascendancy of the Ābhīras.*

After the fall of the Kurus and the lapse of law and order in the kingdom, a large number of indigenous and foreign tribes swarmed into the Panjab. Prominent among them were the Śūdras and the Ābhīras, who spread over the Panjab and occupied the regions of the Sarasvatī. The *Ābhīras* seem to be connected with the *Apiru* (*Khapiru*), who played a very notable role in cuneiform documents of the nineteenth and eighteenth centuries B.C. as well as in Nuzian, Hittite and Amarna documents of the fifteenth and fourteenth centuries B.C. In Hebrew these people were known as *Ibhri* (an adjectival form of *Apiru*) and in Egyptian they figure as *A-pi-ru*. In Mesopotamia and Syria they appear as landless soldiers, raiders, captives and slaves of miscellaneous ethnic origins ; in Palestine they are often mentioned in Canaanite letters of the early fourteenth century as raiders and as rebels against Egyptian authority, sometimes in alliance with Canaanite princes. Most of the scholars accepted the equation of the Khapiru (Habiri etc.) with the Hebrews. E. Dhorme and B. Landsberger, however, objected to this equation. But Albright sums up the position by stating that "until the question is decided, we must content ourselves with saying that a khapiru origin would square extraordinarily well with Hebrew traditional history and would clear up many details, which seem otherwise inexplicable. (W.F. Albright, *From the Stone Age to Christianity* (2nd ed.) pp. 240-241). It appears that a section of these people came to India also. They probably settled in the region called Abirvan between Heart and Kandahar and thence entered into the Panjab. The tradition of the disappearance of the river Saraswati near Vinaśana as a consequence of the foul

ततो विनशनं राजन् जगामाथ हलायुधः ।
शूद्राभीरान् प्रति द्वेषाद् यत्र नष्टा सरस्वती ।

169. See also W. F. Albright, *The Archaeology of Palestine and the Bible* pp. 206 ff,

contact of the Ābhiras enshrines a memory of the advent of these people in the Kuruland in the heels of the Scytho-Iranian tribes, who dealt the death-blow to Kuru supremacy at Kurukṣetra. We learn from the Muśalaparvan that these Ābhiras grew so headstrong as to inflict a crushing defeat on the invincible Arjuna, when he was returning with the women of the Yādavas from Dvārakā after the tragedy of the Mahābhārata War.[170] At the same time some other indigenous tribes like the Nāgas also became assertive, since we find Janamejaya quelling them in the celebrated Sarpa-satra and holding his court at Takṣaśilā. Either be had to leave his capital and repair to the north-west under duress of some uprising, as Samvaraṇa had to do long before his time, or he marched there to extirpate the menace of some foreign tribe, which overshadowed the north-western marches. It was at Takṣaśilā that Vaiśampāyana recounted the tales of *Mahābhārata* to him.

28. *The Mahābhārata as a Saga of the Śakas.*

We have considered above the tribal movements in the Panjab in the post-Vedic age as reflected in the *Mahābhārata*. We have seen that the Pāṇḍava episode, which is an integral part of the *Mahābhārata*, is foreign to the whole body of early Indian literature. Even the authentic and ancient genealogies of the Purāṇas do not allude to this important event or its main characters. Thus it is evident that the *Mahābhārata* preserves the literature of a peculiar order that is unknown to other Indian works and the traditions they embody. The great historian Arnold J. Toynbee has made a precious intuitive suggestion that the *Mahābhārata* owes its genesis to the Śakas. "When the Śakas felt the need for heroic poetry," he observes, "they addressed themselves to their Indian subjects; and it is evident that, when this demand is made upon a subject population, its poets will be prone to bring forth out of their treasure things old and new. If we imagine a Hindu poet, whose heart

170. *Mahābhārata* XVI, 8, 17-18
आभीरैरनुसृत्याजौ हृताः पञ्चनदालयैः ।
धनुरादाय तत्राहं नाशकं तस्य पूरणे ।
यथा पुरा च मे वीर्यं भुजयोर्न तथाभवत् ।
अस्त्राणि मे प्रणष्टानि विविधानि महामुने ॥

is set upon a new higher religion, being called upon by an importunate barbarian Śaka warlord to provide him with 'heroic' minstrelsy, is not the Sanskrit Epic, as we have it, exactly the kind of farrago, which we should expect to see produced by the *tour de force* of an attempt to provide simultaneous satisfaction for two tastes, that were so diverse, and for two interests, that were so far apart."[171] Here Toynbee tries to explain the heroic poetry of the *Mahābhārata*, enshrining the memories and reflecting the conditions of the movement of Eurasian peoples in some remote age, in terms of the Śaka invasion of India and their rule in northern and western India about the dawn of the Christian era. But the fact that this Śaka invasion was preceded by another intrusion of these and other allied tribes eight or nine centuries earlier was not clear to him. The identification of this Scytho-Iranian invasion in the ninth century B.C. in this study has enabled us to advance a more cogent and plausible explanation of the heroic poetry of the Great Epic. As we have observed, the advent of these tribes in the beginning of the frist millenium B.C. and the consequent liquidation of the supremacy of the Kurus found its literary expression in the heroic poetry, which constitutes the kernel of the *Mahābhārata*. Subsequently this work was revised, reedited and refurbished so as to suit the requirements of orthodox Brahmanical society first about the dawn of the Christian era and then in the Gupta period and the Pāṇḍava heroes, shorn of their tribal connotations, were even connected with their adversaries, the Kurus, but the outlandish and adventitious character of the heroes, depicted in it, which does not fit in the atmosphere of Indian Society, still shows that its source lay somewhere outside the confines of Brahmanical culture. Following the method of comparative historiology, we have been able to identify the Scytho-Iranian tribes, symbolised by the Pāṇḍava fraternity, and to show that their lays, songs and ballads found their expression in the saga of the *Mahābhārata*, which is fundamentally a work of Śaka origin and inspiration dating from the 9th century B.C. This explains why its subject matter is so strange to the entire body of Indian literary lore.

171. Arnold. J. Toynbee, 'The Völkerwanderung of the Aryas and the Sanskrit Epic', *A Study of History* Vol. V pp. 605 -606.

CHAPTER V

THE ERA OF FOREIGN INVASIONS AND IMPERIAL MOVEMENTS

1. *The intrusion of the Bactrians.*

We have seen that in the later Vedic age the Gāndhāras in the regions, which are now represented by the Rawalpindi and Peshawar districts, the Kekayas between the Jhelum and the Chenab with that capital at Girivraja or Rājagriha, which has been identified by Cunningham with Girjak or Jalalpur on the Jhelum, the Madras between the Chenab and the Ravi with their seat at Śākala, modern Sialkot, and the Uśinaras along the approaches to the Madhyadeśa were the main peoples of the Panjab. In the 9th century a group of Scytho-Iranian peoples entered into the Panjab and gliding down its glacis clashed with the Kurus at Kurukṣetra and brought about their downfall. In the wake of this invasion many other tribes like the Ābhiras raised their heads and infiltrated into the Panjab. Notable among these foreign peoples were the Bactrians or the Bālhīkas, who spread into the Panjab sometime before the rise of the Achaemenians. As we have observed, Bactria or Balkh lay on the route of the Eurasian nomadic invaders and migrants and saw their inroads repeatedly. Hence the Bactrians had an admixture of sedentary and nomadic elements and as such developed a resilient and elastic social organisation. In the *Atharvaveda* (V, 22, 5, 7, 9) the name Bālhīka occurs in association with the Mūjavants, who, perhaps, represent the speakers of Mūnjani dialect in the north-west. According to the *Mahābhārata*, the Bālhīkas were the offspring of the Piśācas and were a northern people. A variant of Bālhīka is Vālhīka[1] in the *Mahābhārata* and another is Vāhika. In the sūtras of Pāṇini the term Vāhika is used for the whole of the

1. *Mahābhārata.* 11,48, 12

कायव्या (काम्बोजा) दरदा दार्वाः शूरा वैरामकास्तथा ।

औदुम्बरा दुर्विभागाः पारदा बाह्लिकैः सह ॥

Panjab up to the confines of Uśinara.[2] The realms of the Kekayas, Madras and Uśinaras are included in Vāhīka. According to Patañjali, Ārāt and Nandipura (Nandana), commanding the gateway through the Salt Range on the route from Takṣaśilā to Vitastā, Śākala, the capital of the Madras, Pāṭanaprastha, probably Paṭhānkot, the seat of the Audumbaras, and Kastīra, which is probably identical with Kaspapyros or Kaśyapapura, a name of Multan in ancient times, as shown by Foucher, were Vāhīkagrāmas. According to the *Mahābhārata* also, the whole of the Panjab and the North-West was known as Vāhīka. In the *Karṇaparvan* the land of the Five Rivers (Pañcanadyaḥ), watered by the Śatadru, Vipāśā, Irāvati, Candrabhāgā, Vitastā and Sindhu, is said to have been populated by the Ārattas, Vrātyas and Vāhīkas.[3] Kātyāyana derives the word Vāhīka from the word *bahi* with the addition of the suffix *ikak* and takes it to mean the country outside the pale of orthodox Brahmanical society.[4] In the *Mahābhārata* also this etymology has been followed.[5]

The Bālhīkas appear to have advanced in the west also and settled near Saurāṣṭra, for the *Rāmāyaṇa* mentions the Bāhlikas and Saurāṣṭras together.[6] It is noteworthy in this

2. Pānini IV, 2, 117 वाहीकग्रामेभ्यश्च teach the addition of ठञ् and ञिठ् to the derivatives from the names of Vāhīkagrāmas e,g, कास्तीरिकी and कास्तीरिका from Kastīra.

V, 3, 114 आयुधजीविसंघाञ्ञ्यट् वाहीकेष्वब्राह्मणराजन्यात् । क्षौद्रक्य: मालव्य: are the illustrations.

IV, 2, 118 विभाषोशीनरेषु e,g, सौदर्शनिकी, सौदर्शनिका, सौदर्शनीया

3. *Mahābhārata* VIII, 44, 31-32-33.

यदन्योऽप्युक्तवानस्मान् ब्राह्मण: कुरुसंसदि ।
पंचनद्यो वहन्त्येता यत्र पीलुवनान्युत ॥
शतद्रुश्च विपाशा च तृतीयैरावती तथा ।
चन्द्रभागा वितस्ता च सिन्धु षष्टा बहिर्गिरे: ॥
आरट्टानामेते देशा नष्टधर्मा न तान् व्रजेत् ।
व्रात्यानां दासमीयानां वाहीकानामयज्वनाम् ॥

4. Pāṇini IV, 1, 85 दित्यदित्यादित्यपत्युत्तरपदाण्ण्य: ।

Kātyāyana ईकक् च

5. *Mahābhārata*, VIII, 44.

6. Rāmāyaṇa, Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa, 42, 6

सुषेणंप्रमुखा यूयं वैदेहीं परिमार्गथ ।
सौराष्ट्रान् सह बाह्लीकाश्चन्द्रचित्रास्तथैव च ॥

connection that there is some evidence of the existence of an Iranian settlement somewhere in Kathiawar. Tuśāspa, the Yavana rājā, who completed the construction of the Sudarśana Lake on behalf of Aśoka bears an Iranian name. Later on, in the second century A. D. the Persian (Pahlava) minister Suviśākha, the son of Kulaipa, who was the governor of Saurāṣṭra and Ānarta under Mahākṣtrapa Rudradāman, stopped a breach in that lake.[7] Again in the fifth century A.D. Cakrapālita, the son of Skandagupta's governor Parṇadatta, repaired the embankment of this lake[8]. These two names, Parṇadatta and Cakrapālita, are the Indianised froms of the Iranian words Farnadāta and Cakharapāta and suggest that the persons, bearing them, were Iranians, as shown by Jarl Charpentier.[9] Thus it is clear that for about one thousand years persons, bearing Iranian names, lived in Saurāṣṭra and were intimately associated with the construction and maintenance of the famous Sudarśana Lake. This existence of an Iranian colony in Kathiawar substantiates the reference to the Saurāṣṭras together with the Bālhikas (*Saurāṣṭrān Sahabālhīkān*) in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the Bactrians being also a ramification of the Iranian people. It is also noteworthy that in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya the guild (śreṇi) of the Saurāṣṭras is mentioned with that of the Iranians, Kambhojas, as living on trade and warfare.[10] These notices make it clear that a section of the Bactrians (Bālhikas) had migrated to Kathiawar and settled among the people of Ānarta and Saurāṣṭra.

The wide-spread settlement of the Bālhīkas is attested by the existence of many castes in the Panjab whose names recall these people. Some agricultural Jat clans of the Multan region are known as *Bhālaṛ* and *Bhalerah*. Another agricultural people,

7. *Epigraphia India* Vol. VIII, p. 47, D. B. Diskalkar, *Selections from Sanskrit Inscriptions* p. 3:

पार्थिवेन कृत्स्नानामानर्तसुराष्ट्राणां पालनार्थं नियुक्तेन पह्लवेन कुलैपपुत्रेणामात्येन सुविशाखेन यथावदर्थं धर्मव्यवहारदर्शनैरनुरागमभिवर्द्धयता अनुष्ठितमिति

8. Girnar Rock Inscription of Skandagupta, Verses 11, 16, J. F. Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* No. 14; Diskalkar, *Op. cit.* pp. 8-9.

9. Jarl Charpentier, 'Sassanian Conquest of Indus Region', *Krishnaswami Iyangar Commemoration Volume* pp 12-17.

10. *Arthaśāstra, op cit.*

found in Shāhpur, bear the name *Bhallowana*. Some sub-castes of the Khatris in the Panjab are called *Bhalla*, *Behl* and *Bahl*. A Baloch tribe of Sind, Bhawalpur and Dera Ghazi khan, which is addicted to robbery, is named as *Bhalka*.[11] Hemacandra observes that the word *Bhāilla* (भाइल्ल) means a ploughman or a cultivater.[12] The word *behl* (behal) is also used in the Hindi speaking rural areas of the Gangetic valley, included in the state of U.P., in the sense of an uncultured and unmannerly man by way of reproach and probably enshrines a memory of the contempt of the people of Madhydeśa for the Bactrianised population of the Panjab (Vālhīka, Vāhīka) in ancient times, the echoes of which are found in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Dharmasūtra* of Baudhāyana.

Besides being a people of warlike temperament and living by the profession of arms, the Bactrians had a strong *penchant* for trade and commerce also. Pāṇini lets us know that the janapadas of the Panjab were flourishing and specialised centres of commercial and economic activity.

The reference to aśva-vāṇijā, gāndhāri-vāṇijā, kāśmīra-vāṇijā madra-vāṇija among the illustrations of the rule *Gantavya paṇyam vānije* VI. 2, 13 throws a flood of light over the specia lisation in trade achieved by these communities. The Jatakas state that caravans of merchants used to go from eastern India to Kaśmira and Gandhāra and back for trade purposes. According to the Taṇḍulanāli Jātaka, the horse-dealers of Uttarapatha, who used to visit the markets of Banaras, were called Saindhava, which shows that they hailed from the Indus region.[13] The *sārthavāhas* had to carry arms for protection against highway robbers.[14] Przyluski has shown that the caravan-leader Bhallika, who was among the first converts to Buddhism and was passing by the Bodhi tree, when the Buddha attained enlightment, was a, Bactrian, as his name suggests.[15] We learn

11. H. A. Rose, *Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of Panjab and N.W.P.* Vol. 11 p. 83.

12. Hemacandra, *Deśīnāmamālā* VI, 104 भायल-भासिअ-भाइल्ला जच्चतुरंगदिण्णहलिएसु

13. *Taṇḍulanāli Jātaka* No, 23. in the edition of V. Fausböll

14. B. C. Law, *India as described in Early Texts of Buddhism and Jainism*, p. 185; Motichandra, *Sārthavāha* p. 55.

15. Jean Przyluski, 'Les Oudumbaras', *Journal Asiatique*. 1926 pp. 10-12.

from Hiuan T'sang that a merchant of Tsao-Kiu Chau (Arachosia, Zabulistan) constructed a stūpa, called *Yu-kin-hiang* or *Kuṅkumastūpa*, to the north-west of the wall of the Bodhi tree at Buddha-gayā. This merchant seems to have dealt in saffron, which he used to bring from the North-West, particularly the Bactrian regions, which were the home of this plant, to eastern India for trade purposes.[16] In the second century B.C. these merchants and their caravans transported the silks and square bamboo walking sticks of southern China to Bactriana along the route of northern India called Uttarāpatha, as we learn from the report of Chang-Kien.[17] Balkh, the metropolis of Bactriana, was situated on the threshold of the land of nomads. Its importance lay in the commerce, that passed through it. There, the traders of Persia, the pedlars of Scythia and the merchants of Syria and India used to rest in their journey and exchange their goods. Hence the appearance of this place was that of a caravansarāi rather than a capital of an old civilization. Being the scene of a crowded spring-fair, this city looked more like a bazaar, where nomadic and sedentary peoples jostled for a while and then dispersed.[18] Therefore, inspite of its antiquity, this city lacks in architectural splendours, which characterise Palmyra. Ctesiphon and Persepolis. Its people expressed their genius more in commerce then in art and industry. It is for trade purposes that they spread in the Panjab and the interior of India and founded their setlements there. But, as commerce necessitated warfare, these Bactrian communities cultivated an aptitude for arms also and combined the functions of trade-guilds with the duties of military cantonments. In course of their expansion over the Panjab long before the invasion of Alexander, these Bactrians assimilated the indigenous peoples like the Austroloid Audumbaras, as shown by Przyluski.[19]

2. *The rise of Gandhāra.*

Following the intrusion of the Bactrians and the disturbance of the political structure of the Panjab, Gandhāra made

16. S. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. 11 p. 126-127.

17. C.P. Fitzgerald, *China, A Short Cultural History* p. 180-181 Berthold Lanfer *Sino-Iranica* pp. 535-536.

18. A. Foucher, *La Vieille Route de l' Inde de Bactres à Taxila*. Vol. 1 p. 6.

19. J. Przyluski 'Les Udumbaras', *Journal Asistique*, (1926) p. 10

a bid to establish her hegemony over the North-West. The Jaina *UttarādhyayanaSūtra* refers to the Gandhāra King Nagnajit or Naggaji as an important king (bull of kings), who ranked with Dvimukha (Dummukha) of Pañcāla, Nimi of Videha, Karakaṇḍu of Kalinga and Bhīma of Vidarbha and is said to have adopted the faith of the Jainas.[20] In the middle of the sixth century B.C. Pukkusāti was the king of Gandhāra. He was a contemporary of King Bimbisāra of Magadha and Pradyota of Avanti. Buddhaghoṣa lets us know that these was a friendly relation between Pukkusāti and Bimbisāra, in token of which he sent on embassy and a letter to him.[21] He also declared war on King Prodyota of Avanti and would have inflicted a crushing defeat on him had not the Pāṇḍavas launched an attack on him.[22] Nearer home, the territory of Kaśmīra formed part of the Gandhāra kingdom, as we gather from the *Gandhāra Jātaka*[23] and the region between the Chenab and the Ravi, formerly occupied by the Madras, passed under the domination of the kings of Gandhāra, for we find a tribe, named Gandāris (Skt Gāndhāra), living there at the time of Alexander's invasion, according to Strabo.[24] Hecataeus of Miletus (549-468 B.C.) refers to Kaspapyros as a Gandaric city. This Kaspapyros or Kaśyapapura has been identified with Multan by A. Foucher.[25] Thus it is clear that the kingdom of Gandhāra expanded eastward up to the Ravi and southward up to Multan and included the territory of Kaśmīra and its armies were ready to march down the Panjab to measure swords with the forces of Avanti in the heart of northern India. This rise of Gandhāra was, perhaps, due to the energetic leadership of Pukkusāti, who launched on an imperialist policy, which his illustrious contemporary Bimbisāra was destined to pursue in Magadha.

A significant result of the rise of Gandhāra was the growth of her capital Takṣaśilā as a seat of learning and edu-

20. *Uttarādhyayanasūtra*, ed. Jarl Charpentier, XVIII p. 45.

21. *Papañcasūdanī* II p. 982; T. W. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India* p. 28, G.P. Malalasekera, *Op. cit.* II p. 215.

22. Félix Lacote, *Eassy on Guṇādhya* (Eng. tr. by Rev. A.M Tabard) p. 176.

23. ed V. Fausböll no 406.

24. J. W. McCrindle, *The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great* pp. 111-112, 133.

25. A. Foucher, *Ancient Multān*, A. C. Woolner Com. Vol. 1941

cation and a centre of culture and commerce. The age of Buddha saw the spread of the fame of Takṣaśilā throughout the whole of Uttarāpatha. Students from Magadha traversed the vast distance of northern India in order to join the schools and colleges of Takṣaśilā. We learn from Pali texts that Brāhmaṇa youths, Khattiya princes and sons of Seṭṭhis from Rājagṛha, Kāśi, Kośala and other places went to Takṣaśilā for learning the Vedas and eighteen sciences and arts.[26] Jotipāla, son of the purohita of the king of Benaras, returned from Takṣaśilā with great proficiency in archery or military science and was later appointed commander-in-chief of Benaras.[27] Likewise, Jīvaka, the famous physician of Bimbisāra and Buddha, learnt the science of medicine under a far-famed teacher at Takṣaśilā and on his return was appointed court-physician at Magadha.[28] Another illustrious product of Takṣaśilā was the enlightened ruler of Kośala, Prasenajit, who is intimately associated with the events of the time of Buddha.[29] Pāṇini and Kauṭilya, two masterminds of ancient times, were also brought up in the academic traditions of Takṣaśilā.

Though there was no organised university at Takṣaśilā, there was a cluster of schools, managed, maintained and presided over by eminent teachers, who partly drew upon the contributions of the local people and partly depended on the fees and presents of rich pupils.[30] Most of these schools were centres of higher studies, rather than elementary education, for, students of the age of 16 were admitted there. There was a special academy for the princes, which had on its rolls 101 scholars. Another centre of royal scions was the institute of military science, whose strength was 103 princes and at one time rose to 500. Besides these institutions, there were many other colleges, where instruction in archery, hunting, elephant-lore, political economy, law and other arts, humanities and sciences was imparted to students of high rank and calibre from the whole of North India. After finishing the courses of studies

26. *Cittasambhūta Jātaka* no. 498. *Jātaka* I. p. 431, 436, 505, II, p. 52 III, pp. 18, 171, 194, 228, 248 V, pp. 127-177, 227.

27. *Jātaka* V p. 127.

28. *Vinayapiṭaka, Mahāvagga* VIII, 1, 3, 6.

29. *Dhammapada aṭṭhakathā* I, pp. 331-338

30. *Cittasambhūta-Jātaka* No. 498.

in these schools and colleges students wandered far and wide to acquire practical experience and develop the faculty of personal observation. As a result of its fame for education,[31] Takṣaśilā grew into a cosmopolitan city and Arrian was right in describing it as a "great and flourshing city, the greatest, indeed, of all the cities, which lay between the Indus and the Hydaspes."[32] The rise of Gandhāra under able rulers like Pukkuśāti was the main factor in the growth of Takṣaśilā as a centre of culture and learning.

3. *The Achaemenian interlude.*

The growth of Gandhāra was arrested by the expansion of the Achaemenid power in Iran. Cyrus the Great (559-530 B.C.) turned his attention to the eastern regions after completing his conquest of Asia Minor. He appointed Hystaspes, the father of Darius, the satrap of Hyrcania and Parthia and annexed Drangiana, Arachosia, Margiana and Bactria to his empire. Then, crossing the Oxus, he reached the Jaxartes and built fortified towns to defend the empire against the attacks of central Asiatic nomads. Returning from the eastern border, he undertook operations against Babylon, received the submission of the Phoenicians and prepared to launch an expedition against Egypt. But trouble broke out in the eastern parts of the empire and, giving the charge of the operations to his son Cambyses, he left for the east, where he met his death in a battle. We learn from a quotation from the *Persica* of Ctesias that Cyrus died in consequence of a wound on the thigh, inflicted by an Indian in an engagement, when "the Indians were fighting on the side of the Derbikes and supplied them with elephants."[33] It appears that the campaign, which cost Cyrus his life, was directed towards the Indian frontiers, since Xenophon in his remance, entitled *Cyropaedia* (1, 1, 4), states that Cyrus brought under his rule "both Bactrians and Indians." Echoes of the disastrous invasion of Cyrus are preserved in the account of Nearchus, who reports that the people of Gedrosia told

31. *Jātaka* V, 247 तक्कसिलं गन्त्वा उग्गहितसिप्पा ततो निक्खमित्वा सब्बसमयसिप्पञ्चदेसचारित्तञ्चजानिस्सामाति अनुपुब्बेन चारिकं चरन्ता
32. J. W. McCrindle, *The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great* p. 92.
33. *Persica* ed. Gilmore pp. 133-135.

Alexander that "Cyrus came to those parts with the purpose of invading India, but was prevented through losing the greater part of his army owing to the desolate and impracticable character of the route and escaped with only seven persons of his army."[34] But Megasthenes states that the Indians had never been "invaded and conquered by a foreign power, except by Hercules and Dionysus and lately by the Macedonians." As regards the Persians, he remarks that "although they got mercenary troops from India, namely the Hydrakes, they did not make an expedition into that country, but merely approached it, when Cyrus was marching against the Messagetae."[35] Following Megasthenes, Arrian also avers that although Cyrus marched against the Scythians and showed himself in other respects the most enterprising of Asiatic monarchs, he did not invade India.[36] But Arrian also states clearly that the Indian tribes Astakenoi (Aṣṭaka) and Assakenoi (Aśvaka), living to the west of the river Indus, "paid to Kyros the tribute from their land, which he had imposed.[37]" From these remarks it is clear that, while campaigning against the Scythians, Cyrus was forced to reduce some unruly and predatory tribes of Gedrosia, but his army perished and he had to escape with seven survivors only. Either in the same campaign or on some subsequent occasion, he moved against the Massagetae and the Derbikes, but a soldier of the Indian elephant corps, that had gone to their assistance, inflicted a fatal blow on his thigh. Thus the campaign of Cyrus in the north-western borders of India proved a vain march without any consequence or significance and Megasthenes was right in not taking any note of it. It is likely that the army of Cyrus stormed the city of Capisa (Kāpiśī-Begram) in course of its movements, as we learn from Pliny. (*Natural History*) VI, 23 (25). As regards the notice of an Indian embassy in the court of Cyrus in the account of Xenophon and the remark of Arrian that the Indians, living between the Indus and the Cophen (Kabul), "finally submitted to the Persians and paid to Cyrus the tribute, which be imposed on

34. Strabo, *Geography* tr. Hamilton and Falconer (XV, 1, 5)

35. J. W. McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian* pp. 110.

36. *Ibid.* p. 209.

37. *Ibid.* p. 183.

them," they probably refer to the assistance, given by the Ariaspians to Cyrus, whom he honoured with the title Euergetae (Benefactors). It is noteworthy that the vast complex of peoples, inhabiting the regions between the Indus and the Oxus, bore the name Indian in ancient times and Bactria was deemed to be included in Uttarāpatha.[38] Hence the vague notices of the submission of 'Indians' do not bear out the invasion of northern India by Cyrus much less his domination over her north-western frontier regions. The assertion of Eduard Meyer that Cyrus appears to have subjugated the Indian tribes of the Paropamisus and the Kabul valley especially the Gandarians and that "Darius advanced as far as the Indus" has no shred of evidence in support of it; rather the data of Indian history definitely give the lie to it.[39]

At the time of Cyrus, Gandhāra was making rapid progress under the redoutable leadership of Pukkusāti, who had extended his hegemony over a large part of the Panjab and plunged into the affairs of Magadha and Avanti. It is said that an onslaught of the Pāṇḍavas prevented him from pushing his war against Pradyota of Avanti to a decisive issue. These people are reminiscent of the Pāṇḍavas of the *Mahābhārata*, according to which only seven persons on their side survived the holocaust of Kurukṣetra, climaxed by the nocturnal attack of Aśvatthāman. This episode of the survival of seven men on the Pāṇḍava side has a resemblance with the escape of Cyrus from Gedrosia with seven persons. Likewise, the story of the death of Duryodhana as a result of the hurt of the thigh, inflicted by Bhīma, bears comparison with the tradition of the death of Cyrus in the battle against the Derbikes following a wound in the thigh caused by an Indian. It is well-known that the *Mahābhārata* underwent its redactions at Takṣaśilā in Gandhāra, where Vaiśampāyana is said to have recited it to Janamejaya. Hence it is certain that the stories and episodes of this epic were widely prevalent in the north-west and it is possible that some of them received a colouring from the history

38. Yaśodharas' comment on the *Kāmasūtra* of Vātsyāyana (Bangabasi Press edition) pp. 370-371 बाह्लीकदेश्या उत्तरापथिका:

39. *Geschichte des Altertums* Vol III p. 97 note. A. V. W. Jackson 'Persian Dominions in Northern India down to the Time of Alexander's Invasion' *Cambridge History of India* I. p. 298

of the disaster of Cyrus in the north-western borders of India. But it is highly impossible that the insignificant and ineffective campaign of Cyrus among some highlanders of Afghanistan and Baluchistan could become the basis of the narrative of the Great War of Kurukṣetra between the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas, as argued by H. C. Seth.[40]

Megasthenes states, as seen above, that the Hydrakes supplied mercenery troops to Cyrus. These people are evidently the Śūdrakas, who were an important tribe of the Panjab at the time of Alexander's invasion. It is likely that these people were manaced by the expansionist policy of Pukkusāti and tried to stir up and assist Cyrus in his campaign against Gandhāra. But the Gāndhāra monarch was also equal to the occasion and when Cyrus was engaged with the highlanders, named Derbikes and Massagatae, he sent his army to their help, which made short shrift of his campaign and a soldier of which put an end to his life. If we study the political conditions of India in the later half of the sixth century B. C., we would be driven to conclude that the only power, which was a match for the Achaemenian monarch, was Pukkusāti and it was his corps, which could smash the might of his armies.

After the death of Cyrus trouble broke out in large parts of the Persian empire and his son and successor Cambyses (529-522 B.C.) had to quell it and had to postpone his expedition to Egypt for five years up to 526-523. Thereafter all his energies were diverted to the conquest of Egypt, leaving him no time to devote his attention to the east. But his successor Darius (522-486 B.C.) was able to look in this direction after suppressing the uprising of Smerdis and subduing the insurgent tribe of Yautiyā under Vahyazdāta. He spent the first two years of his reign in the struggles against the rebels and had to defeat nine kings in nineteen battles. It was sometimes after these wars that Darius pounced upon Gandhāra and annexed it to his empire.

We know that the Yautiyā insurgent Vahyazdāta made the strategic move of capturing the twin cities, Kapisakāniś, in order to cut the communications between Dariuś two principal

40. H. C. Seth, 'Cyrus the Great and the *Mahābhārata* War,' *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* (Hyderabad) 1941. pp. 125-127.

supporters, the viceroys of Harahvaś and Bākhtriś and to establish his rule fully over the whole south-eastern and north-eastern part of the Achaemenian empire. But the satrap of Bactria, Vivāna, foiled his plan of action by defeating him at Kāpiśi and Gandutava. It is not unlikely that in course of these marches and movements some Persian army fell upon Gandhāra and put an end to its independence. The annexation of this region seems to have taken place after 518 B.C., for the Bahistun rock inscription of Darius, which was engraved between 520 and 518 B.C., does not include India in the list of the 23 provinces, which were under Darius. But the second of the two inscriptions on the tablets, sunk in the wall of the platform at Persepolis, which were carved between 518 and 515 B.C., as well as the upper part of the two inscriptions, chiselled around the tomb of Darius in the cliff at Naksh-i-Rustam after 515 B.C., expressly mention Hi(n)du as a part of his realm. Obviously the rule of the Achaemenians[41] extended both over Gandhāra and Sindhu (Sind).

The Persian dominions in the north-west of India were organized in the taxation unit no 7 in the gazetteer of Herodotus. The dahyāuś of Gandhāra, mentioned in the aforesaid inscriptions, is the same as *Gandarioi* of Herodotus and the *Pa-ar-u-pa-ra-e-sa-an-na* of the Babylonian version of the official lists, the expression Paraupāirisāena, meaning the country which is beyond (para) the mountain range, that is 'higher than the eagle', being a designation of the people, who lived on the opposite side of the Hindu Kush from the Oxus Basin, i.e. the people inhabiting the basin of the Kabul river. In this satrapy the *Dadikai* (Darada), residing in the Koh-i-dāman and the Kuhistan as well as the upper Oxus valley above Bactria and Sogdiana, and the *Aparytai*, Āprita of Pāṇini and the Afridis of modern times, who inhabited the eastern end of the Safid Kuh on the watershed between the Kabul River and the Kurram River, just to the south of the Khyber Pass, were also included. Another division of this satrapy was *Thataguś*, Sattagydai of Herodotus. Herzfeld points out that in the Achaemenian bas-reliefs the Thataguś are portrayed in loin-cloths, which indicates that their country lay somewhere on the

41. Sukumār Sen, *Old Persian Inscriptions* p. 98.

plains of the Indus Basin. According to him, *thatagu* represents a compound of the Indo-Iranian word for 'seven' with some word meaning 'stream'. Thus he identifies Thatagu with Hapta Hindu of *Vendidad* I, 18 and takes it to include the whole of the Panjab.[42] But Kent rejects this etymology and takes *thatagu* to mean 'having hundreds of cattle' : *thatagu* (Sattagydia), Elamite Sa-ad-da-ku-is, Akkadian Sa-at-ta-gu-u, from *thata* 'hundred', Avestan, *śata*, Skt *śatam*, Latin *centum*, English *hundred* Indo-Iranian *kmto-m* together with *gav*-"cattle.[43]" This region thus corresponds to the Vedic *gomati* and may be identified with the region round Gomal River in Afghanistan. Regarding its identification with the Panjab, Prof. Cameron observes: "I find it very difficult to reconcile Thatagus with the Panjab. Must it not rather be on the slopes of the Hindu Kush ?"[44] Thus there is no warrant for holding that the dahyāuś of Gadara included the Panjab.

The Lower Indus Valley was encompassed in the twentieth satrapy of the empire called *Hidus* (Indoi of Herodotus). According to Herodotus, the northernmost section of the Indoi were next-door neighbours of the city of Kaspatyros and the Pactyan country, on the one hand,and of the Indian Desert,on the other. He states that the gold-getting Indoi were the "most warlike of the Indians" and their "country was approximately the same as that of the Bactrians." These data accord with the fact of the intrusion of the Bactrian people into north-western India up to Sindhu and Saurāṣṭra before the establishment of the Achaemenian empire, as seen above. Darius had a keen eye for natural resources like Peter the Great and he must have annexed the Lower Indus valley as part of his comprehensive plan for connecting the Indus, the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea and thus linking the eastern and western extremities of his empire by water communication. With this end in view he despatched a naval expedition under Scylax, a native of Caryanda in Caria, to explore the Indus about 517 B. C. The fleet succeeded in making its way to the Indian Ocean and ultimately reached Egypt two and a half years from the time, when the voyage began Thus we observe that Darius conquered and

42. Ernst Herzfeld 'Zarathustra, Teil 1' in *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* band 1 (Berlin 1929-30) p. 99.
43. Roland G. Kent, *Old Persian : Grammar, Texts, Lexicon* p. 187.
44 Arnold J. Toynbee, *A Study of History* Vol VII p. 649.

annexed the entire region to the west of the Indus and divided it into the two rich dahyāus of *Gadara* and *Hidu*. There is no evidence to show that his domination extended along the eastern bank of the Indus.

Under Darius the Trans-Indus region witnessed a new type of administration, which linked the satrapies into the centralized Persian empire. Under the Cyran branch of the House of Achaemenes the Empire had been grounded on the paramountcy of a broad association of imperial peoples, the Medes, the Persians, the Armenians and later on the Bactrians, and the autonomy of the conquered regions in matters of internal administration. But Darius revised this policy after going through the experience of quelling the sudden outburst of revolt in all the provinces after the death of Cambyses and forged a structure of centralized and bureaucratic administration under the control and direction of the Imperial court. We learn from Herodotus that the empire was divided into twenty taxation divisions, administered by satraps, who were appointed by the Imperial court from the Persian nobility and were directly responsible to the king. Next to each satrap was the commander-in-chief of the armed forces, stationed in the province, who was also directly responsible to the king. Besides these two afficials, the collector of taxes was also centrally appointed. To supervise the work of these officials, there was an intricate machinery of inspectors, spies and secretaries, that was also controlled by the centre. Eduard Meyer has described this system as follows :

"To keep the satraps under control the emperor would take every opportunity of sending out into the provinces high officials, like the emperor's "eye" or his brother or son with troops at their back. They would arrive without warning to inspect the administration and report abuses. Further safeguards against misconduct on the satrap's part were provided by the presence of the imperial secretary, who was attached to the provincial governor, and of the commandants of fortresses and other military officers in the provinces, who all served as instruments of supervision. There checks were supplemented by a highly developed espionage system. The emperor had a ready ear for denunciations."[45]

45. Herodotus Book III ch. 128 interpreted in Eduard Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums* Vol III pp. 66-68

For ensuring a prompt and unhesitating execution of imperial commands and keeping speedy communication among the far-flung units of the empire and thus effectively maintaining the control of the centre on distant satraps, a good net-work of roads was spread over the whole of the empire. To quote Meyer. :

"Instruments for holding the empire together were the great roads converging on Susa and traversing the empire in all directions in the track of the previously existing trade-routes. These roads were measured in parasangs and were permanently maintained in good condition. The Imperial Highway was provided, at intervals of about four parasangs on the average, with "imperial post-stations and excellent inns." The provincial boundaries and the river crossings were guarded by strongly garrisoned fortresses. At these points the traffic was subjected to searching supervision. All post-stations were manned by mounted couriers, whose duty it was to convey imperial commands and official despatches post-haste, travelling day and might without a break, "swifter than cranes", as the Greeks put it. There is also said to have been a system of telegraphic communications by beacon signals."[46]

The service was so efficient that the caravans could travel the Imperial Highway from Susa to Ephesus and cover its 1,677 miles in ninety days and royal envoys moved from one end to another in a week. After the conquest of the Indian satrapies the road from Babylon to Holwan, Behistun and Hamadan was extended to the valley of the upper Kabul, whence, following the river, it reached the river Indus. Along this road the royal court, which was continually on the move, must have made its journeys.

The burden of taxation must have fallen heavily on the Indian satrapies of the empire, for, out of the total revenue of 14,500 silver talents, nearly a third was contributed by them. In terms of gold the contribution of Hi(n)du amounted to 360 talents of gold, which is equivalent to over a million pound sterling. In addition to these payments in precious metals, the satrapis paid dues in kind, horses, cattle and food. The separation of the fiscal department from the adminis-

46. *Ibid.*

trative set-up and its direct connection with the centre must have accentuated the hardships of exactions, though it seems to have curbed the highhandedness of the satraps. Thus though the Indian satrapies were bled white by the exorbitant levies of the empire and the untrammelled exploitation of its officials, it experienced a new kind of centralised and bureaucratic administration, which became the basis of the new political organisation of the Maurya empire, as we shall see.

Under Xerxes (486-465 B.C.) also the authority of the Achaemenians over the Indian satapies remained intact, as is manifest from the contributions of the contingents of infantry and cavalry by them. Herodotus (VII, 65) describes the equipment of the Indian infantry as follows : The Indians, clad in garments, made of cotton, carried bows of cane and arrows of reeds, the latter tipped with iron, and thus accoutred, the Indians were marshalled under the command of Pharnazathres, son of Artabates. Regarding the cavalry, he states that "they were armed with the same equipment as in the case of the infantry, but they brought riding horses and chariots, the latter being drawn by horses and wild asses." Considering the integrity of the empire under Xerxes, it is plausible to assume that the Indian satrapies remained intact during his reign.

Artaxerxes I, the son of Xerxes, was a man of weak character. His accession was marked by the rebellion of Bactria, which was rapidly quelled. The reign of his successor Darius II was riddled by intrigue and corruption. Under Artaxerxes II the empire registered a precipitous decline. The satraps rose in revolt everywhere. Egypt, Cyprus, Phoenecia and Syria became independent in quick succession. Bithynia, Caria, Lydia, Mysia, Lycia, Pisidia, Pamphylia and Cilicia soon followed suit. The empire reached the breaking point, which was, however, shelved by the incidental desertion of the Pharaoh Takhos to the imperial side. The next ruler Artaxerxes III was, no doubt, a man of iron will and strength and tried to resuscitate the falling fortunes of the empire, but in 338 B.C. he was poisoned. By that time so much royal blood had been spilt within the family that, on the death of the son of Artaxerxes III, a distant relative Darius Codomannus was brought to ensure the continuity of the royal line. This prince was destined to bear the *coûp de grace* of Alexander, which put an end to the

expiring tragedy of the Achaemenian empire. This steep decadence was reflected in the realm of art and culture also. As Herzfeld wrote, "Iranian art after Artaxerxes II shows an astoundingly quick decline, an unparalleled fall, to the point that even the mere technique was almost entirely lost. Old Persian art was dead before Alexander conquered Persia and with the art the whole culture died; this complete decay was the cause, the conquest was its consequence. The burning of Persepolis by Alexander was only the symbolic expression of the fact that the ancient East had died."[47]

In this period of decline the Indian provinces shook the yoke of Achaemenian anthority. The view of A.V.W. Jackson that the Achaemenian sway in India lasted up to 330 B. C. and of S. Chattopādhyāya that Artaxerxes II and Darius III maintained the Indian empire, created by the genius of Darius the Great, has no leg to stand upon.[48] The presence of Indian soldiers in Persian armies, on which this view is founded, does not at all show that the Indian satrapies continued to hug the corpse of Achaemenian empire into the last. We know from Pāṇini and Kauṭilya that the north-western regions of India were full of floating contingents of mercenary solidies, who lived by the profession of arms and lent their services to those kings, who paid them best. Such contingents of soldiers sought fortune under the Achaemenian emperors, who promised rich prospects to their troops. Megasthenes quite expressly says that the Persians got mercenary troops from India.[49] It is noteworthy that when Alexander invaded India, he did not find any trace of Persian authority there, but faced sturdy communities and powerful monarchs, who fought to the last drop of blood in defence of their independence.

4. *The supremacy of the Pauravas.*

When the hold of the Achaemenians over the outlying satrapies of their empire began to weaken after the ill-fated expedition of Xerxes against Greece, the tribes and peoples of the Panjab, exotic as well as native, asserted their inde-

47. Ernst Herzfeld, *Iran in the Ancient East* p. 274.

48. R.C. Majumdar, 'The Achaemenian Rule in India', *Indian Historical Quarterly* (1949) Vol. XXV pp. 153-156.

49. J. W. McCrindle *Op. cit.* p. 109.

pendence and carved separate states for themselves. Relying on an allusion in the *Harṣacarita* of Bāṇabhaṭṭa, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar held that Kākavarṇa, son of Śiśunāga, invaded the Panjab from Magadha and, conquering up to the confines of the Achaemenian empire, inflicted a defeat on the Persian satrap of Gandhāra. But this victory proved pyrrhic, for Kākavarṇa was allured by the Yavanas or Persians to the vicinity of a place, named Nagar, and assassinated with a dagger thrust in his neck.[50] This suggestion may not be historically true, but the fact that the Achaemenian away over north-western Panjab and Sind disappeared after Xerxes admits of no doubt. Gandhāra assumed independence under a native dynasty, whose scion Omphis played a notable past in the events of the time of Alexander's invasion. The name Omphis is identical with Āmbhi, mentioned in a gaṇapāṭha of Pāṇini, and recalls the Āmbhiyas, who represented a school of political thought, according to the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya[51] (I, 16). According to M. Sylvain Lévi, the reigning dynasty of Takṣaśilā at the time of the Greek invasion was a Kṣatriya family derived from Ambhas and designated by the patronymic Āmbhi.[52] But the rise of the Āmbhīyas or Āmbhis was eclipsed by the emergence of another imperial power in the Panjab, that of the Pauravas.

We have seen in the second chapter of this study that the Purus were an Aryan tribe of the Indo-Iranian age, that spread into India and subsequently merged among the Kurus. But some remnants of them survived in the mountainous retreats of the North-West and emerged from there in the plains of the Panjab and set up a powerful state in the region between the Jhelum and the Chenab, which was the cradle of the Kekayas. The Bṛhatsaṁhitā of Varāhamihira associates the Pauravas with the peoples of Takṣaśilā and Puṣkalāvati and locates them in the vicinity of the Mālavas and Madrakas.[53]

50. D. R. Bhandarkar, 'Notes on Ancient History of India' *Indian Culture* Vol. 1 p. 13ff.

51. F. W. Thomas, *Bārhaspatya Arthaśāstra*, (introduction) p. 15.

52. Sylvain Lévi, 'Notes sur l'nde à l' époque d' Alexandre', *Journal Asiatique*, (1890) 1 p. 234-236.

53. *Bṛhatsamhitā* IV, 26-27.

तक्षशिलपुष्कलावतकैलावतकण्ठधानाश्च ।
अम्बरमद्रकमालवपौरवकच्छारदण्डपिङ्गलकाः ॥

The *Mahābhārata* also refers to the city of the Pauravas, which was adjacent to the republics of the Utsavasaṅketas and the territory of Kaśmīra.[54] The Purus were the leading tribe of the Parvatīya group, for, when Arjuna marched against the Pauravas, he encountered the stiff resistance of the Parvatīya warriors and, after defeating them in a battle, he proceeded towards the capital of that country, which was guarded by Paurava,.[55] Hiuen T'sang called the territory eact of the Jhelum, which was occupied by Poros at the time of Alexander's invasion, Parvata.[56] Thus it is clear that Paurava was a tribal name and Parvatīya was a territorial designation and that Poros of Greek writers and Parvataka of the *Mudrārākṣasa* both refer to the famous adversary of Alexander, as shown by F.W. Thomas and H.C. Seth.[57]

Poros launched on a policy of conquest and expansion. It seems that the foundation of the kingdom of Poros was at the expense of the state of Gandhāra. Hence the king of Gandhāra, Taxiles, was menaced and terrorised by the rapid expansion of the Paurava kingdom and hugged a foreign invader to thwart the ambition of Poros. Curtius informs us that on the approach of Alexander, "Omphis urged his father to surrender his kingdom to Alexander." But just then his father passed away and he "sent envoys to enquire whether it was Alexander's pleasure that he should meanwhile exercise authority or remain in a private capacity till his arrival."[58] Then

54. *Mahābhārata* 11, 27, 16-17.
पौरवं युधि निर्जित्य दस्यून्पर्वतवासिनः ।
गणानुत्सवसंकेतानजयत्सप्त पाण्डवः ॥
ततः काश्मीरकान्वीरान् क्षत्रियान् क्षत्रियर्षभ ।
व्यजयल्लोहितं चैव मण्डलैर्दशभिः सह ॥

55. *Mahābhārata* 11, 27, 14-15.
स तैः परिवृतः सर्वैर्विश्वगश्वं नराधिपम् ।
अभ्यगच्छन्महातेजाः पौरवं पुरुषर्षभ ॥
विजित्य चाहवे शूरान् पर्वतीयान् महारथान् ।
जिगाय सेनया राजन् पुरं पौरवरक्षितम् ॥

56. S. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World* 11 p. 275.

57. *Cambridge History of India* Vol. 1 p. 471; H.C. Seth, 'On the Identification of Poros and Parvataka', *Indian Historical Quarterly* (June 1941) p. 173; Buddha Prakash, 'Poros', *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* Vol. 32 (1951) pp. 198-233.

58. J. W. McCrindle, *Invasion* p. 201.

he set out with his army to receive Alexander and made a present of 56 elephants, three thousand bulls and a large number of sheep together with 80 talents of gold to him. To his friends he offered golden crowns and treated them with lavish hospitality for three days. This solicitude of Omphis to seek succour from Alexander was born of the pressure of Poros. When Alexander asked him whether he had more husbandmen or soldiers, he replied that, as he was at war with two kings, he required more soldiers than field labourers. These kings were Abhisares and Poros, but Poros was superior in power and influence.[59]

Though Abhisares or the king of Abhisāra was fighting with Omphis, together with Poros, he seems to have been sceptical of the friendship of his ambitious and aggressive ally. Hence, just on the morrow of Alexander's entry into Takṣaśilā, he sent his envoys to him and offered submission. But he was also assuring Poros of his help in the event of Alexander's invasion. On the eve of the battle of the Jhelum, Poros was expecting the arrival of the armies of Abhisāra any moment and, when the Macedonian troops landed on the eastern bank of the Jhelum, he thought that it was Abhisares, who was coming for his assistance.[60] But he kept quiet at his capital and waited for the verdict of the battle of the Hydaspes. When the battle was over and the affairs of the combatants had been settled, he again offered his submission to Alexander through his brother by making a present of money and of 40 elephants.[61] His pretext of illness, symbolic of a policy of running with the hare and hunting with the hound, was dictated by the distrust and suspicion, raised by the expansionist objective of Poros.

As in the west and the north, so in the east and the south also, the blows of Poros fell heavily on the kings and peoples. We learn from Greek sources that the territory between the Chenab and the Ravi, which was the seat of the Madras, was also ruled by a Paurava prince. It appears that he was a junior member of the house of the Pauravas, appointed by the Elder Poros, as his representative, after overthrowing the Madras and pushing them further south. But this scion of

59. *Ibid.*, p. 202.
60. Curtius, *Invasion* p. 207.
61. Arrian, *Invasion* p. 112.

his family entertained a desire to assert his independence. Hence he also played the role of Taxiles and welcomed the advent of Alexander. Arrian states that "while hostilities still subsisted between Alexander and the elder Poros, this Poros had sent envoys to Alexander offering to surrender into his hands both his person and the country, over which he ruled, but this more from enmity to Poros than friendliness to Alexander."[62] After the Battle of the Jhelum he sent his envoys again to Alexander.[63] But since the differences of Alexander and Poros had been composed and the latter bore a grievous grudge for the rebel, Alexander was unable to accept his offer. Rather Alexander pursued him in person at the instance of Poros, for he was determined to catch him and hand him over to his suzerain. But to quote Arrian, "on learning that Poros had not only been set at liberty, but had his kingdom restored to him, and that too with a large accession of territory, he was overcome with fear, not so much of Alexander, as of his namesake Poros, and fled from his country, taking with him as many fighting men as he could persuade to accompany him in his flight."[64] Perhaps he reached Magadha to join the Gangaridae or the Nandas.[65] His territory formed part of the dominion of Poros. Further east the Kathaians also appear to have been attacked by Poros.[66]

In the south the arms of Poros fall on the Kṣudrakas and Mālavas, who, as already discussed, were the branches of the Indo-Iranian peoples, encompassed in the confederacy of the Śālvas. Before the invasion of Alexander, Poros had invaded their territory in close association with his ally Abhisares. Arrian remarks that "when shortly before this time, Poros and Abhisares had marched against them, they were obliged, as it turned out, to retreat without accomplishing anything at all adequate to the scale of their preparation."[67] Thus it is clear that Poros was extending his realm in all directions and was emerging as the paramount ruler of the Panjab, west of the

62. Arrian, *Invasion* p. 114.
63. Arrian, *Invasion* p. 112.
64. *Invasion* p. 114.
65. Diodoros, *Invasion* p. 279.
66. Arrian, *Invasion* p. 115.
67. Arrian, *Invasion* p. 115.

Ravi. His elephant corps was dreaded far and wide and his military fame spread in distant lands.

Poros had developed so much power that the Achaemenian emperor of Iran approached him for assistance in the time of need. We learn from Greek, Syriac and Persian sources that Darius III Codomannus sought the help of Poros against Alexander the Great. According to the *Pseudo-Kallisthenes*[68] and its Syriac version[69], Darius invited Poros to meet him with an army at the Caspian Gates and promised him half the spoil and Alexander's horse Boukephalas. Firdausi gives a slightly different version of this episode in his *Shāh-nāmā*, which is based on old Pahlavi traditions. He says that, in course of his flight after his defeat at Arbela, Darius wrote a letter to Alexander, in which he set forth his terms of peace with him.[70] Alexander's response to this offer was very favourable, but, in the meantime, Darius was struck with remorse at the thought of surrendering himself at the feet of a foreign invader and leading the life of an humble vasal. Hence he made another attempt to resist and repel Alexander and wrote a letter to Poros (*Fur* in the Persian version) requesting him for succour and promising him a rich return. This letter shows that Darius had a high opinion of Poros and pinned much hope on his assistance. In the dark hour of distress the prospect of the help of this Indian ally was the only ray of hope for the Achaemenian emperor. Poros made an immediate response to the request of Darius and sent his elephant corps to him.[71] But Alexander came to know of the arrangement of Darius and swooped down on his worsted rival with great force and alacrity. Darius collected the remnants of his broken army and tried to face

68. *Pseudo-Kallisthenes* ed. C. Müller Vol. II p. 19.

69. *The History of Alexander the Great being the Syriac Version of the Pseudo-Kallisthenes* edited and tr. by Frnst A. Wallis Budge II p. 11.

70. *Shāh-Nāmā* of Firdausi ed. Turner Macan Vol. III p. 1279 Chu yāvar na-būdash zanazdīk-o-dūr, yakī nāmaḥ banavisht nazdīk-i-Fūr.

71. *Ibid.* Vol. III p. 1305.
Badāñgah ki dārā merā yār khvāst
Dil-e-bakḥt bāvi na dīdaim rāst
Hami zindāḥ pilāñ farastādmaṣḥ
Hamidūñ bayāri zubāñ dādmaṣḥ
Chu bar-dast āñ bandāh bar-kashtāḥ ṣḥud
Sar-i-bakḥt irāniāñ gasḥtāh ṣḥud
Za-dārā chu ru-i-zamīñ pāk-ṣḥud
Tirā zahr bari-dāḥ-i-tiryāk ṣḥud

Alexander. But his army was a wreck, many chiefs deserted him, only 300 cavaliers followed him in his flight, and, finding him a broken reed to lean upon, his ministers assassinated him. Probably this assistance of Poros to Darius was one of the motives, which led Alexander to invade India to pay off these scores.

The traditions, reported by Firdausi, are true from many standpoints. He states that Darius fought three battles with Alexander, that he was assassinated by his ministers, and that Alexander had no hand in that foul act. Hence there is no reason for rejecting his account of *Fūr* (Poros), which accords well with the historical situation of that period.[72]

5. *The Kṣudrakas and the Mālavas.*

At the time of the rise of Poros, southern Pañjab was dominated by the Kṣudrakas and the Mālavas. As we have seen above, these two tribes were the constituents of the Sālva confederacy. The Kṣudrakas were probably a branch of the Skudrā, that are repeatedly mentioned in Achaemenian inscriptions[73], and the Mālavas were identical with the Madras or Bhadras, but they separated early from their parent body, assuming their distinct name. At one time the whole of the Panjab between the realms of the Kekayas and Uśinaras was under their sway. The existence of Mālava Sikhs in Ferozpur, Ludhiana, Patiala, Jind and Malerkotala shows that they become prominent in these regions also. But the pressure of imperialist movement seems to have pushed them southwards and, at the time of Poros, they occupied a part of the Doab, formed by the Chenab and the Ravi, and extended upto the confluence of the Chenab and the Indus. McCrindle[74] thinks that their region comprised the modern district of Multan and portions of that of Montgomery, whereas, according to Smith,[75] it comprised the Jhang district and the latter. They also seem to have lived along the bank of the lower Ravi. In the vicinity

72. For detailed discussion see, Buddha Prakash, *Studies in Indian History and Civilization* pp. 28-69.

73. Sukumar Sen, *Old Persian Inscriptions* pp. 152-154.

74. McCrindle, *Invasion* p. 351.

75. V. A. Smith, 'Notes on Alexander's Campaign' *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1903) p. 631.

of the Mālavas were the Kṣudrakas. Bunbury[76] thinks that they lived on the east or left bank of the Satlej in what is called the modern state of Bahawalpur and extended as far as the junction of the Satlej with the Indus up to Uchh.

The pressure of imperial powers seems to have driven the Kṣudrakas and the Mālavas into a political and military alignment, which was marked by a merger of their armies. The confederate military arrangement of these tribes is referred to by Pāṇini in the Gaṇasūtra of sūtra IV, 2, 45, *Kṣudrakamālavāt senāsañjāyām*, and underlies the mention of the Kṣudrakas and Mālavas together in the compound *Kṣudraka-mālava* in the *Mahābhārata*.[77] V.S. Agrawala thinks that Pāṇini himself composed the Gaṇasūtra on the basis of his personal knowledge of such an army.[78] The Greek writers inform us that this practice of combining the armies was prevalent among these tribes before the invasion of Alexander. Arrian states that "they had certainly agreed to combine with the Oxydrakai and give battle to the common enemy, but Alexander had thwarted this design by his sudden and rapid march through the waterless country, whereby these tribes were prevented from giving each other mutual help.[79] Diodoros observes that the "Syrakousai and the Malloi, two popular and warlike nations.........had mustered a force of 80,000 foot, 10,000 horse and 700 chariots. Before Alexander's coming, they had been at feud with each other, but, on his approach, had settled their differences and cemented an alliance by intermarriage, each nation taking and giving in exchange 10,000 of their young women for wives. They did not, however, combine their forces and take the field, for, as a dispute had arisen about the leadership, they had drawn off into the adjoining towns."[80] Curtius, however, gives a different account and writes that "they had selected as their head a brave warrior of the nation of the Sudraces," "who

76. Bunbury, *History of Ancient Geography* pp. 515-520 Strabo (XV, 1,8) says that they were reported to be the descendants of Bacchos, because the vine grew in their country and their kings set out on expeditions in the Bacchic fashion. Hence Laufer derives the name *kṣudraka* from the word for grape (*drākṣā*) *Sino-Iranica* pp. 235-240 But this seems to be a mere conjecture.

77. *Mahābhārata* 11 48, 14 वसातयः समौलेयाः सहक्षुद्रकमालवैः ।

78. *India as known to Pāṇini* p. 469.

79. *Invasion* p. 150.

80. *Invasion* p. 287.

encamped at the foot of a mountain", whence Alexander routed him.[81] From these accounts it is clear that the joint military arrangement of these tribes broke down on the eve of Alexander's invasion and they had to bear the brunt of the conflict singly. Thus the reference to their joint armies reflects the condition before the invasion of Alexander. We have seen above that Poros launched an attack against them and they had armed themselves to the teeth and repulsed him. Hence it is likely that their confederate military arrangement was born of the emergency of the invasion of Poros.

The Kṣudrakas and the Mālavas are also stated to have cemented their alliance with inter-tribal marriages, as we learn from Curtius. This was a revolutionary slep indeed in view of the fact that these tribes sedulously preserved their tribal integrity and exclusiveness, as is clear from the remark of Patañjali that only the members of the ruling Kṣatriya class among them were called Mālavya and Kṣaudrakya respectively, the slaves and free labourers being debarred from the use of these titles.[82] It is also manifest that the affairs of the government rested in the hands of the aristocracy having the privilege of bearing the tribal surname. We learn from Arrian that, when these tribes were defeated, they sent the leading men of their cities and their provincial governors, besides 150 of their most eminent men, entrusted with full powers to conclude a treaty.[83] This contrasts with the submission of Taxiles or Sambos and proves that the Kṣudrakas and Mālavas had an oligarchical or saṁgha type of government rather than a monarchical form of polity.

6. *The Kaṭhas and the Saubhas.*

We have seen above that the arms of Poros fell on the Kathaians also. But their military ardour and love of independence stood them in good stead and they maintained their territorial integrity to the east of the Ravi. The sacrifice of Naciketas,

81. *Invasion* p. 236.

82. *Mahābhāṣya* on IV 1. 168 इदं तर्हि क्षौद्रकाणामपत्यं मालवानामपत्यमिति । अत्रापि क्षौद्रक्यः मालव्य इति नैतत्तेषां दासो वा भवति कर्मकरो वा । किं तर्हि । तेषामेव कस्मिँश्चित् ।

83. *Invasion* p. 154.

alluded to in the Vedic texts[84], probably refers to the custom of exposing infants, which prevailed in the neighbouring kingdom of Sopheites also. The name Kathaians or Kaṭha, applied to these people, shows that they were the Udīcya disciples of Vaiśampāyana. At the time of Patañjali their fame as the preservers and exponents of an authentic tradition of Vedic literature had travelled far and wide.[85] The Kapiṣṭhala Kaṭhas of Pāṇini VIII, 3, 91 have been equated with the *Kambistholoi*, located by Megasthenes near the Hydraotes.[86] At the time of Poros their stronghold at Sangala, which is probably identical with the *Sānglāwālā Tibā* in the Jhang district, became so famous as to find a place in the gaṇapāṭha of Pāṇini under IV, 2, 75 entitled *Sankalādi*. It was there that they offered a stiff resistance to Alexander by resorting to the trilinear waggon strategy or Śakaṭavyūha. At first their missiles haffled the Greek cavalry, but ultimately they gave way before the grim charge of the phalanx and repaired into their citadel. Alexander laid siege to it and Poros also reinforced his ranks with elephants and 5,000 men. At last dissension rent the defenders into two groups and their resistance broke down and they tried to slip away, but the Greeks got scent of their plan and pounced on them. Then followed a terrible massacre and the storming and razing of the citadel. These people survive among the *Kattia* nomads, scattered at intervals through the plains of the Panjab, and the Kathiars of U. P. The region, called Kāṭhiawar, may be connected with these people.

Adjacent to the Kaṭhas was the realm of Sopheites. This name recalls *Subhūta*, mentioned besides *Sankala*, in the gaṇapāṭha of Pāṇini under IV, 2, 75. Another variant of this name seems to be *Saubha*, which was the capital of the Sālvas, according to the *Mahābhārata*.[87] The king of this region is also called

84. *Ṛgveda* (X, 135); *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* III, 1, 8; *Mahābhārata*, *Anuśāsanaparvan* 106; *Kaṭha Upaniṣad* I, 1, 4. स होवाच पितरं तात कस्मै मां दास्यसीति । द्वितीयं तृतीयं तम् होवाच मृत्यवे त्वा ददामीति

85. Bhāṣya on IV 3, 101,

ग्रामे ग्रामे काठकं कालापकं च प्रोच्यते

86. V. S. Agrawala, *India as known to Pāṇini* p. 324.

87. *Mahābhārata* III, 14, 2.

साल्वस्य नगरं सौभं गतोऽहं भरतर्षभ ।

निहन्तुं कौरवश्रेष्ठ तत्र मे श्रुणु कारणम् ॥

Saubha or Saubharāṭ.[88] It appears that a tribe, bearing the name Saubha, became predominant among the Sālvas. As seen above, the Sālvas included the Madras, who were spread up to the Chenab. As a result of the pressure and expansion of Poros towards the east and the south, the Madras seem to have been pushed eastward and in this movement the Saubhas appear to have obtained the upperhand among them.[89] This explains the reference to Saubha as Sālva in the *Mahābhārata*.

88. *Mahābhārata* III, 17, 15.

शतैरभिहत: संख्ये नामर्षयत् सौभराट् ।
शरान् दीप्ताग्निसंकाशान् मुमोच तनये मम ॥

89. We learn from Arrian that, after arranging to sail down the Hydaspes on his return journy, Alexander "instructed his generals to march with all possible speed to where the palace of Sopheites was situated" (*Invasion* p.133)This shows that the realm of Sopheites was somewhere near the Jhelum. Strabo also gave similar information. "Some writers", he says, "place Kathaia and the country of Sopheites, one of the monarchs, in the tract between the rivers Hydaspes and Akesines; some on the other side of the Akesines and of the Hydraotis, on the confines of the territory of the other Poros, the nephew of Poros, who was taken prisoner by Alexander, and call the country subject to him Gandaris. It is said that in the territory of Sopheites there is a mountain composed of fossil salt sufficient for the whole of India. Valuable mines also, both of gold and silver are situated, it is said, not far off, among other mountains, according to the testimony of Gorgos the Minor. (*Invasion* p. 133) Cunningham identified Gandaris with the present district of Gundulbar and fixes the capital of Sopheites on the western bank of the Hydaspes at *old Bhira* with a very extensive mound of ruins and distant from Nikaia (now Mong), three days by water. According to McCrindle, his rule must have extended westward to the Indus since the mountain of rock-salt, which Strabo includes in his territory, can only refer to the Salt Range (the Mount Oromenus of Pliny, XXXI, 39), which extends from the Indus to the Hydaspes. An argument in support of this location of the territory of Sopheites may be drawn from the fact that this region was formerly occupied by the Kekayas, whose dogs are particularly mentioned in the Rāmāyaṇa as bred in royal kennels (अन्त:पुरेतिसंवृद्धान्), strong like tigers (व्याघ्रवीर्यबलोपमान्) big in size (महाकायान्) and with large teeth (महादंष्ट्रान्) (Rāmāyaṇa II, 07, 20). This description agrees very closely with that of the ferocious dogs of Sopheites given by Greek writers. Thus it is likely that the realm of Sopheites coincided with that of the Kekayas and the Madras and the tradition reported by Strabo rests on a sound basis. But the remarks of Curtius and Diodoros that the territory of Sopheites lay between the Hydraotes and the Hyphasis in the vicinity of the realm of the Kathaians (*Invasion* p. 279) are too clear to be brushed aside. There is no doubt that the region of Sopeites was between the Ravi and the Beas,which was once peopled by the Uśinaras. We have suggested that the subjects of Sopeiytes had moved eastward from the north because of the pressure of Poros. Evidently they had brought their dogs also with them, which Curtius and Diodoros pointedly mentioned. Because their migration was a recent event, Arrian and Strabo mistook them to be still in occupation of the Hydaspes region. As a matter of fact the existence of the independent kingdom of Sopheites on the Hydaspes in the teeth of the rising power of Poros is quite unlikely.

This Saubha is stated to be a powerful monarch, since he challenged Kṛṣṇa to avenge the death of his relative Śiśupāla.[90] Accordingly, he launched an attack against the kinsmen of Kṛṣṇa, the Vṛṣṇis and Ānartas, and invested their city Dvārakāvati, which suffered all the hardships of a siege.[91] At last the defenders broke out and a battle ensued, in which Pradyumna the son of Kṛṣṇa, and Saubha were locked in a deadly contest. Ultimately, when Pradyumna was on the point of killing his adversary, the gods intervened to prevent him from doing so, saying that he was destined to die with the hand of Kṛṣṇa only.[92] Accordingly, Kṛṣṇa hastened from the Kuru capital to put an end to the life of Saubha. In this account the tactics and armaments of Saubha are said to be outlandish[93] and strange and he is looked upon as a demon (Dānava). It is not unlikely that this episode of the humbling of Saubha bears some reminiscence of the submission of Sopheites to Alexander and the annexation of his kingdom to the empire of Poros after the retreat of the Macedonian forces. The important thing in this connection is that Saubha, Saubhūti or Sopheites is not heard of in the Panjab after Alexander and Poros. As regards the coins, said to have been issued by Sophietes, it has been definitely proved by Whitehead[94] that they belong to some Greek potentate of the Oxus region and have no connection with the Indian contemporary of Alexander. As a matter of fact, it passes comprehension that an Indian prince could have dressed him-

90. *Mahābhārata* III, 14, 11-12:
क्वासौ क्वासाविति पुनस्तत्र तत्र प्रधावति ।
मया किल रणे योद्धुं कांक्षमाणः स सौभराट् ॥
अद्य तं पापकर्माणं क्षुद्रं विश्वासघातिनम् ।
शिशुपालवधामर्षात् गमयिष्ये यमालयम् ।

91. *Mahābhārata* III, 15, 2.
उपायाद् भरतश्रेष्ट शाल्वो द्वारवतीं पुरीम् ।
अरुन्धत्तां सुदुष्टात्मा सर्वतः पाण्डुनन्दन ॥

92. *Mahābhārata* III, 19.
तौ रौक्मिणेयमागम्य वचोऽब्रूतां दिवौकसाम् ।
नैष वध्यस्त्वया वीर शाल्वराजः कथंचन ॥

93. *Mahābhārata* III, 16, 6.
तुष्टपुष्टबलोपेतं वीरलक्षणलक्षितम् ।
विचित्रध्वजसन्नाहं विचित्ररथकार्मुकम् ॥

94. *Numismatic Chronicle* (1943.)

the Greek fashion and used the Greek script and emblems such a remarkably perfect manner and had undergone the process of total Hellenisation merely in the passing blast of Alexander's invasion. As regards the theory of D. R. Bhandarkar[95] that Sopheites himself was a Greek and issued the said coins before Alexander's invasion, Greek historical accounts do not in the least suggest any community or connection between him and Alexander, as they do in the case of the Nysians. Hence such an inference has no leg to stand upon. If our suggestion that the Saubhas rose to power among the Sālvas or Madras in the wake of the expansion of the Paurava empire in eastern Panjab and declined soon afterwards with the establishment of the hegemony of Poros, following the retreat of Alexander, has any historical soundness, and the identification of their chief, mentioned in the aforesaid episode of the *Mahābhārata*, with Sopheites of Greek writers has any plausibility, the history of eastern Panjab will assume a new significance in a new light.

Greek writers inform us that Sopheites had adopted Spartan laws to increase his military strength. In the words of Curtius "here they do not acknowledge and rear children, according to the will of the parents, but as the officers, entrusted with the medical inspection of infants, may direct, for, if they have remarked anything deformed or defective in the limbs of a child, they order it to be killed."[96] According to Strabo, the inspection was made, when the child was two months old. Thus children of "perfect limbs and features" and having "constitutions, which promised a combination of strength and beauty" were allowed to be reared and those, who had any bodily defect, were condemned to be destroyed.[97] Diodoros observes that "they make their marriages also in accordance with this principle, for, in selecting a bride, they care nothing whether she has a dowry and a handsome fortune besides, but look to her beauty and other advantages of the outward person. It follows that the inhabitants of these cities are generally held in higher estimation than the rest of their countrymen."[98]

95. *Ancient Indian Numismatics* (Charmichael Lectures, 1921) pp. 30-31.

96. *Invasion* p. 219.

97. Diodoros *Op. cit.* p. 280.

98. *Invasion* p. 280.

These reforms were undertaken to improve the military standard of the people evidently under duress of the invasions of powerful neighbours like Poros. They had an important bearing on social divisions and manners, as we shall see later on.

Adjacent to the realm of the Saubhas was the kingdom of Bhagala.[99] Diodoros calls this king Phegeus and Curtius names him as Phegelas. The latter name is correct, since it corresponds to the Sanskrit word Bhagala, which is the name of the royal tribe of the Kṣatriyas, that are classed with the names of Takṣaśilā, Ambha etc. under the rubric Bāhu in a gaṇapāṭha of Pāṇini, as shown by Sylvain Lévi.[100] The name *bhagala* survives in the name of the locality Phagawara, the initial sonant being changed into a surd, according to the tendency of the phonetics of the Panjabi language. Phagwara is an important railway junction between Amritsar and Jullundhar and its location agrees with the situation of the kingdom of Phagelas, according to Greek writers. The Bhagala chief decided to submit to the Macedonion invader and, while his subjects were tilling the fields, he presented himself to Alexander with choice gifts. But his kingdom was destined to prove the stop of Alexander's campaign, for the news of the military strength of the Gangaridae and the Prasi deterred his armies from running any more risk.

7. *The Macedonian invasion.*

The decline of the Achaemenian empire was the signal of foreign invasion. In the last phase of decline the satrapies shook off the imperial yoke. Alexander's invasion was the climax of this crescendo of disruption and disintegration. The Achaemenian empire was already dead and outer elements were preying on its decomposed parts, when the Macedonians swooped down over it to consume its last remains. Within no time the mighty empire of Asia crumbled like a house of cards and in 331 B.C. the Greeks conquered it in the foothils of the Assyrian mountains near Arbela. The flight and assassination of Darius III created a political vacuum, into which Alexander soon plunged, and, making himself the master of

99. McCrindle, *Invasion* pp. 221, 281.
100. Sylvain Lévi, *Op. cit.*, *Journal Asiatique* (1890) p. 239.

the empire of Asia, set out to recover and consolidate its broken parts. It is likely that the assistance, rendered by Poros to Darius, made him aware of the might of India and gave him an incentive to measure swords with her people.

In the spring of 327 B.C. he crossed the Hindu Kush and was on the road to the Indus. At Nikaia, in the vicinity of modern Jalalabad, he divided his army into two parts, one under Hephaistion and Perdikkas was ordered to proceed through the Kabul valley towards Gandhāra and the other was to follow the king in the hilly country north of the Kabul river in order to subdue the unruly tribes of that region and thus secure his rear and flanks. Ascending the valley of the Kunar river, Alexander reduced the clans of the highlanders, who defied foreign conquest and domination. The Aspasians and Assakenoi, known as the Āśvāyana and Āśvakāyana in Indian works, were defeated and their strongholds of Massaga, Bajaur and Aornos were stormed. In this region there were some colonies of the Ionians, which probably dated from the days of Achaemenian ascendancy. Alexander was astonished to find such a colony at Nysa, where the people adhered to their old customs and festivals and adopted an oligarchical from of government. This place was situated near mount Elum, also known as Ram Takhat, at the foot of which is a cluster of old towns, bearing Greek names, derived from Bacchos : Lusa (Nysa) Lyocah (Lyaeus), Elys, Bimeeter (Bimeter), Bokra (Boukera), Kerauna (Keraunos) etc.[101]

In the meantime, the corps of Perdikkas and Hephaistion advanced towards Gandhāra, which was divided into two states at that time : Puṣkalāvati and Takṣaśilā. The former was ruled by a chief, called Astes, belonging to the tribe, known as Hāstināyana in the grammar of Pāṇini[102], and the latter was dominated by Āmbhis or Omphis, representing the Ambhas of Pāṇini, Āmbhīyas of Kauṭilya and, perhaps, Opiai of Hecataeus.[103] In the *Vāyupurāṇa* also this division of Gandhāra

101. Holdich has identified Nysa with Kohinor in the Swat region, Saint Martin with Nysatta, McCrindle with Nagarahara and Foucher with some place of Yaghistan between the valleys of the Kunar & Swat rivers. (Holdich, *The Gates of India* p. 133; J.W. McCrindle, *The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great* pp. 338, 340. A. Foucher, *Le veille route de l' Inde de Bactres à Taxila* Vol. II pp. 208, 260; B. M. Barua, *Aśoka and his Inscriptions* pp. 96.

102. *Pāṇini* VI 4, 174.

103. *Cambridge History of India* Vol. I p. 354.

into Puṣkalāvati and Takṣaśilā is clearly referred to.[104] Mortimer Wheeler thinks that these two cities were fouuded during Achaemenian rule.[104a] But it appears that they were founded earlier, for we hear of Takṣaśilā at the time of Pukkusāti and Buddha. However, it is quite certain that these two states became independent after the decline of the Achaemenian empire. The policy of the rulers of these states towards the invasion of Alexander was fundamentally different. Hastin resisted the invaders on the field of battle and gave way only after a bloody encounter, but Āmbhi embraced these incomers, though moving out in a warlike manner, and hugged them as his supporters and friends.

In the beginning of the rainy season of 327 B. C., the people of Takṣaśilā watched the procession of strange figures parading through the streets. According to Arrian, this was the greatest city in that region.[105] Its metropolitan character is attested b. the prevalence of the custom of sati,[106] a practice going back to Scythian origins, by the vogue of exposing the dead,[107] a usage current among the Persians, by the sale of women in public markets, a manner peculiar to the Asuras and the people of the hilly regions, by the presence of saints and ascetics, devoted to severe corporeal penances[108] and snarling at the insignificant drama of conquest and alliance, by the existence of teachers and politicians, lucubrating on the prospects of evolving a structure of unity out of the welter of rivalry and conflict, and by the assembling of royal fugitives, seeking succour from the foreign invader, envoys of kings, offering presents to him, as well as messengers, conveying the news of war and bloodshed. From this city the Macedonians, accompanied by their Indian allies, marched against the redoubtable Poros and had a fierce contest with him on the Karri plain east of the Jhelum. This encounter brings into prominnce the differences in military tactics and techniques between the belligerents

104. *Vāyupurāṇa*, 88, 189-90.

104a. Mortimer Wheeler, *Charsada, A Metropolis of the North-West Frontier* pp. 13-15.

105. J. W. McCrindle, *The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great, Op.cit.*

106. Strabo, XV, 1, 28, J. W. McCrindle, *Ancient India as described in Classical Literature* pp. 33-34.

107. *Ibid.* p. 69.

108. *Ibid.* p. 72. Megasthenes, *Fragment* XLI, McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes & Arrian.* pp. 97-103, *Invasion* pp. 313-315.

and sheds a floods of light on the contact of the cultures of the West and the East, that they symbolised.

Alexander's army consisted of the companions, who were mounted and armoured, the Hypaspists, "the bearers of round shields", who acted as heavy infantry, but were lighter in equipment and more rapid in movement than the Hoplites, (the bearers of oval shields), who wore heavy armour, carried a sword & a spear and formed the backbone of the famous Spartan infantry, the phalanx, which was six rows deep, each soldier standing, three feet behind another, wearing full defensive armour, consisting of a helmet, breat-plate and two long curved plates protecting the thighs, and carrying long swords, long shields and 24 feet long spears, called *sarissa*, so as to have the appearance of a gigantic porcupine or a moving forest of glittering steel points, the archers, mounted on horseback, comprising the Scythians & Agrianians and making lightning movements and skirmishing and harassing the enemy ranks from a distance, and the engines, called balists and catapults, which were meant for darting stones. Tarn has shown that Alexander had 5,300 cavalry, 15,000 infantry and at least 14,500 archers. The cavalry consisted of two regiments under Koinos. The battalions of the phalanx were 7. Those of Klitos the White and Antigones crossed with Alexander. The other three of Meleager, Attalus and Gorgias were left on the opposite bank of the river, strung out in different places, and crossed and joined Alexander. The remaining two under Polyparchon and Alketas were left with Krateros in Alexander's camp and reinforced the fighting ranks at the concluding stage of the battle. The mounted light cavalry of the Thracians and Scythians was posted exactly on the right wing. The right wing consisted of the cavalry with the Scythian regiment forming the vanguard. Then there was the unit of the foot archers and the light infantry, then the five battalions of the phalanx were posted in a straight line and on the extreme left were again the units of the light infantry and the archers skirted by a regiment of javelin-men.[109]

The army of Poros consisted of elephants, chariots, cavalry and infantry. Bröler has shown that this army was drawn up according to the rules of the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya.[110] Kauṭilya

109. W. W. Tarn, *Alexander the Great* Vol. II pp. 190-191.

110. Bernhard Bröler, *Alexanders Kampf gegen Poros*; *Ein Beiträg zur Indischen Geschichte* (Stuttgart, 1933).

prescribed that the elephants should be posted at the van of the army and that they are particularly effective in plashy, marshy and watery terrain in rainy season. He stressed their role in breaking up compact formations by speading terror and confusion.[111] Accordingly, Poros placed his elephants, 200 according to Arrian, 130 according to Diodoros, and 83 according to Curius, in the front of his army, each animal being not less than a *plethrum* (101 English feet) apart. But Tarn thinks that the elephants were divided into two shorter lines inclined right and left towards his rear from the ends of the front line making the face look like a huge redoubt. Behind the elephants was the infantry of 50,000 foot, according to Diodoros, or 30,000, according to Arrian, which protruded to fill the gaps between the towering beasts. On each end of the array he posted his cavalry, 4,000 according to Arrian, or 2,000 according to Plutarch, and near it were the chariots, 300 according to Arrian, or 1,000 according to Diodoros. Thus the Indian army presented the spectacle of a mobile fortress. As for the armaments, each chariot was drawn by 4 horses and carried six man, namely, a shield-bearer and an archer on each side and two drivers armed with Javelins. The infantry carried the bow of the size of a man, one end of which was pressed under foot and the other was held by one hand, while the arrow was mounted on the string and shot forth by the other. Some carried javelins and others were equipped with swords and wicker-shields only. Their shields were made of buffalo-hide and were no match for the long metallic shields of the Macedonians. They were also handicapped for want of long pikes. The cavalry was not armoured and had no section of mounted archers. Thus the Greeks had a marked technological superiority over the Indians, which increased the drive and vigour of their numerically larger cavalry.

As soon as Alexander crossed the river in the darkness of the night[112], when the howl of the storm drowned the rattle of

111. *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* X, 4 ed R. Shamsastri pp. 371
पुरोयानमकृतमार्गवासतीर्थकर्म बाहूत्सारस्तोयतरणावतरणे स्थानगमनावतरणं विषमसंबाधप्रवेशाग्निदानशमनमेकाङ्गविजयः भिन्नसंधानमभिन्नभेदनं व्यसने त्राणमभिघातो विभीषिकात्रासनौदार्यं गृहणं मोक्षणं इति हस्तिकर्माणि ।

112. *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* X. PP 365 तीर्थाभिग्राहे हस्त्यश्वैरन्यतो रात्रावुत्तार्य सत्रं गृह्णीयात्

arms and incessant rain rendered the terrain unfit for quick movements, an advance party, led by a son of Poros, clashed with it. The contest was severe. Alexander himself was wounded and his horse Boukephalas was killed.[113] According to Justin, he fell headlong on the ground, but his attendants rushed to his help and saved his life.[114] For sometime the issue of the battle hang in balance. But the chariots stuck in the mud and some plunged into the gushing current for, the bank was so flooded with water that land and river had become one.[115] Hence the Indian contingent retreated & the son of Poros also fell.[116]

It was then that Poros became really aware of the advance of Alexander, for till then he was thinking that his ally, the king of Abhisāra, was coming to his help.[117] Soon the armies were drawn up and an advance squadron of 1,000 mounted archers under Tauron led the attack[118] on the Indians, following the plan, laid down by the Theban general Epaminondas, according to which all cavalry was to be concentrated on the right wing and moved in action at the outset. Seeing the movement of the enemy, Poros ordered his right wing of cavalry to go to the help of the left wing. But Alexander with his own division of 2,300 choice horsemen struck at the new-comers on their front and left side, while Koinos carried out his master's tactical orders by swinging round and attacking them in the rear. Thus the Indian cavalry had to deploy into two ranks, one facing the left & the other the right, and in this confusion the Greek onslaught shattered them and compelled them to retire to the elephant line. Similarly, the chariots became ineffective by sticking in the mud. Meanwhile, Poros made a dashing charge with his elephants and spread terror in the enemy ranks.[119] For a moment the phalanx quailed. But Alexander despatched against the elephants the lightly armed Agrianians and the Thracian troops. They assailed the elephants with a shower of missiles, axes and javelins and sickle

113. Arrian in McCrindle, *Invasion* pp. 323.
114. Justin, *Invasion* pp. 323.
115. Curtius, *Invasion* pp. 208.
116. Arrian, *Invasion* pp. 102.
117. Curtius, *Invasion* pp. 207.
118. Diodoros, *Invasion* pp. 275.
119. Diodoros, *Invasion* pp. 175.

like choppers. Meanwhile, the Indian cavalry wheeled round and charged Alexander's cavalry on the left, but was again routed and forced to take shelter in the rear. As for the infantry and chariots of Poros, they were incapacitated from effective action by marshy terrain. Hence the ranks of Poros fell into confusion. Poros himself was wounded, particularly in the right shoulder, and turned his elephant back to marshal as much forces as possible.[120] Diodoros states that he gathered around him forty of his elephants, that were still under control, and, falling on the enemy with these animals, made a great slaughter with his own hands. The javelins, he flung with his hand, flew like the shots of a catapult.[121] This charge of the Indian elephants caused great destruction and confusion in the Greek armies. If the Ethiopic texts are to be believed, most of the Greek cavalry was destroyed in the attack and the soldiers were filled with great agony and grief. Some of them threw off their weapons and thought of going over to the enemy's side. Viewing this state, Alexander, who was himself in great distress, ordered a cease-fire and approached Poros with the proposals of peace.[122]

Firdausi also states that, when the intensity of the war reached a high pitch, Alexander addressed Poros as follows:[123]

> "O ! Noble man
> Our two hosts have been shattered by the fight,
> The wild beasts batten on the brains of men,
> The horses' hoofs are trampling on their bones.
> Now both of us are heroes, brave and young.
> Both paladins of eloquence and brain,
> Why then slaughter be the soldiers' lot
> Or bare survival after combating ?"

Arrian remarks that Alexander sent his friend Taxiles to persuade Poros to make peace with him. But as this messenger of peace reached near Poros, his blood boiled at the sight of his old enemy, and he threw a javelin at him with such force that it would have broken his bones, had he not galloped his horse

120. Arrian, *Invasion* pp. 108.

121. Diodoros, *Invasion* pp. 276.

122. Ernst A. Wallis Budge, *The Life and Exploits of Alexander the Great being a Series of Translations of the Ethiopic Histories of Alexander* pp. 123.

123. *Shāh-Nāmā* ed. Turner Macan Vol III p. 1309.

back very quickly.[124] Curtius states that this messenger was the brother of Taxiles and was killed with the javelin of Poros[125], but Alexander was so desirous of peace with poros that, in stdead of feeling slighted by the disrespect, shown for his envoy, he sent messenger after messenger to Poros and at last commissioned Meroes to persuade him to come to terms with him.[126] Justin and Plutarch observe[127] that Poros was taken prisoner at the end; Diodoros suggests that he fell into the hands of Alexander, who gave him to the Indians for curing his wounds;[128] Curtius writes that, after the death of his elephant[129], Poros was placed on a waggon and there Alexander was struck by his valour and made a gesture of peace to him. In this way the accounts of the Greek writers about the end of the battle are full of confusion and contradictions. What is clear from these traditions is that Alexander and Poros made an honourable peace and became friends. From the unanimous remark of these authors that Poros was reinstated in his state and the territories, conquered by Alexander in India, were added to his dominion, it is also evident that the belligerents met together on a footing of equality before the issue of the battle could be precisely ascertained.

In this dramatic change from bloody war to deep friendship the role of the Indian prince Meroes was most significant. From the data,furnished by Greek writers about him,it becomes clear that he was no other than Candragupta Maurya. Meroes is described as an Indian of considerable importance and Candragupta Maurya is known to have played a notable part in the North-West just after the retreat of Alexander. This prince Meroes is referred to for the first time on the occasion of the battle of Jhelum. This shows that his association with Alexander was very recent at the time of that battle. There is some evidence to show that Candragupta was at Takṣaśilā at the time of Alexander's invasion. We learn from the *Vaṁsatthappakāsinī* that Cāṇakya brought Candragupta from

124. Arrian, *Invasion* p. 108.
125. Curtius, *Invasion* p. 212.
126. Arrian, *Invasion* p. 108.
127. Justin, *Invasion* p. 323; Plutarch, *Invasion* p. 308.
128. Diodoros, *Invasion* p. 276.
129. Curtius, *Invasion* p. 213.

Magadha to Takṣaśilā and educated him there for seven or eight years. Hence his meeting with Alexander, mentioned by Plutarch[130], must have taken place the:e. As the next step of Alexander f:om Takṣaśilā was the realm of Poros, the presence of Candragupta on the battle-field of the Jhelum for the first time becomes understandable. Meroes is said to have succeeded in persuading Poros to go to Alexander in response to his invitation, while many envoys and messengers failed to do so before him, because he was on good terms with Poros and had some influence on him. Arrian clearly states that he was an old friend of Poros. Chandragupta also appears to be a colleague of Poros. The *Mudrārākṣasa*, the *Vaṁsatthappakāsinī*, the *Mahāvaṁsa* of Moggallāna, the *Pariśiṣṭaparvan* of Hemacandra and the *Sukhabodhā* of Devendragaṇin state that Candragupta had an important ally and colleague named Parvataka or Parvateśvara, who has been identified with Poros by H.C. Seth and F. W. Thomas on very strong grounds.[131] Hemacandra and Devendragaṇin inform us that Cāṇakya approached Poros with a proposal that after the overthrow of the Nandas he and Candragupta would equally divide their kingdom like brothers.[132] It appears that Candragupta and Cāṇakya were already discussing a treaty of alliance with Poros for the invasion of Magadha, when the invasion of Alexander occurred. Hence the remark that Meroes was a friend of Poros applies to Candragupta as well. It is clear from the observation of

130. Plutarch, *Invasion* p. 311 "Androkottos himself, who was then but a youth, saw Alexander himself and afterwards used to declare that Alexander could easily have taken possession of the whole country, since the king was hated and despised by his subjects............................"

131. H. C. Seth, 'On the Identification of Porosa nd Parvataka' *Indian Historical Quarterly* (June 1941) p. 173, F. W. Thomas, 'Candragupta, the Founder of the Maurya Empire', *Cambridge History of India* Vol. I p. 424.

132. Hemacandra, *Pariśiṣṭaparvan* VIII, 297-300 H. Jacobi p. 241.

चाणक्यो हिमवत्कूटं ततोऽगात्सन्निवेशनम् ।
तत्र पर्वताख्येन नृपेण सह सौहृदम् ॥
चन्द्रगुप्तगुरुश्चक्रे तत्साहायककाम्यया ।
तमन्यदोचे चाणक्यो नन्दमुन्मूल्य पार्थिवम् ।
तद्राज्यं संविभज्यावां गृह्णीव भ्रातराविव ।
ततः पर्वतकेनापि प्रत्यपद्यत तद्वचः ।
स हि चाणक्ययुक्तोऽभूत् सन्नद्ध इव केसरी ॥

Sukhabodhā on Uttarādhyay.inasūtra ed. Vijayomanga Surī pp. 57-58.
हिमवन्तकुडं मेत्तिकया पव्वओ राया नंदरज्जं समं समेण विभजयामो

Arrian that Meroes was successful in his mission of persuading Poros to come to terms with Alexnader, because he was particularly keen on arranging an alliance between them. On this matter Persian traditions have thrown a flood of new light.

Muslim historians refer to Alexander's meeting with a wise Indian king in course of his Indian expedition.[133] This king is called *Kaihan* by Yaqubi (9th cent. A.D.) *Kand* by[134] Ma'sudi (died 956 P.D.), *Kafand*[135] by the author of the *Majmulut Tavarikh* and *Kaid* by Firdausi[136] and Amir Khusrau.[137] All these variants refer to the Indian word *Cand*, which is the Prākrit from of *Candra*. This king is said to have been a contemporary of Alexander, worked under the guidance of a sage, named Mihrān, overthrown a greedy and tyrannical king and made an alliance with Alexander. These data adequately apply to Candragupta Maurya, who is known to have worked under the inspiration of Cāṇakya alias Kauṭilya, overthrown the Nanda kings and made an approach to Alexander, as we gather from a remark of Plutarch.[138] We learn from Persian traditions that Candragupta entered into a formai treaty of alliance with Alexander, in token of which he presented a beautiful girl, a philosopher, a physician and a glass-vase to him.[139]

Even if this tradition is not wholly correct, it at least shows that Candragupta had come to terms with Alexander. Thus these traditions amplify and enlighten the observation of Plutarch about the meeting of Alexander and Candragupta. It appears that Candragupta's object in making this alliance was to seek the assistance of Alexander for the conquest of Magadha and the overthrow of the Nandas. But, when Alexander had a tough tussle with Poros and the issue hang in balance, Candragupta felt that a hurdle was coming in his

133. T. Nöldeke, *Beiträge zu. Geschichte der Alexanderromans* p. 47

134. Al-Mas'ūdi, *Kitab Murūj adh-dhahāb wa Ma'adin al'Feuhār*, Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille, *Les Prairies d'* Or Vol II p. 260.

135. Elliot and Dawson, *History of India as told by its own Historians* Vol I p. 108.

136. Firdausi's *Shāhnāmā* ed Macan Vol III p. 1290.

137. Amir Khusrau, *Khazāin-al Futūh ed. Wahid Mirza* p. 69.

138. Buddha Prakash, "Candragupta Maurya in the Shāh-nāmā of Firdausi' *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* Vol XXXVI (1956) pp. 270-29.

139. *Shāh-nāmā* ed Macan Vol. III p. 1299.

way and, in order to cross it, he thought it necessary to bring about a settlement between the belligerents so that his progress may continue unimpeded. This explains his keenness on improvising a peaceful arrangement between Alexander & Poros. Thus his position closely agrees with that of Meroes in this respect. It is clear from this discussion that the outcome of the battle of the Jhelum was a friendly alliance between Alexander and Poros, in the conclusion of which Candragupta played a notable part. After the negotiation of peace Alexander, Poros and Candragupta smoothly advanced towards the east. The result of these military and political manoeuvres was an unprecedented increase in the power of Poros and an irresistible drive in the imperialist movement in the Panjab.

Alaxander stayed in the dominion of Poros for 30 days. Then he advanced towards the populous and prosperous region of South Kaśmīra between the upper courses of the Jhelum, the Chenab and the Ravi ruled over by the Glaukanikoi or Glausai, the Glaucukāyanas of the *Kāśikā* on Pāṇini IV, 3, 99. Their kingdom comprised 37 cities, the smallest "containing not fewer than 5,000 inhabitants, while many contained upwards of 10,000." The villages in this region were not less populous than the towns.[140] The surrender of these rich people was the signal for the capitulation of the opportunist ruler of Abhisāra. The news of these successes led the younger Poros, who dominated the doab of the Chenab and the Ravi, the seat of the ancient Madras, to repair to the east, leaving the route open to the invaders. On crossing the river, the Adraistai of Pimparna, modern Bheranah, 8 leagues to the south-east of Lahore, laid down their arms. The Kathaians of Sangala, Sanglawala Tilā near Amritsar, offered a stiff resistance by resorting to the waggon-strategy, mentioned by Kauṭilya[141], but had to knuckle under. The Saubha and Bhagala rulers tamely submitted, being cowed down by the triumphant advance of the forces of Alexander and Poros. But then at Beas the deadline came, where the movement stopped and huge

140. Arrian, *Invasion* p. 112.

141. Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* X, 2 ed. R Shamsastry p. 366.

बलविशिष्टः कृतोपजापः प्रतिविहितर्तुं स्स्वभूम्यां प्रकाशयुद्धमुपेयात्, विपर्यये शकटयुद्धम् ।

altars sprang up to remind posterity of the superhuman feats of those ancient heroes. The reports of the military strength of the people of the East and the recurrent revolts of the mountainous tribes of the North-West forced the armies of Alexander to retrace their steps in disregard of the entreaties of their great commander. Hence the whole region up to the Beas was annexed to the dominion of Poros and the army beat the retreat. The outcome of this advance was the fulfilment of the imperial ambition of Poros, for all his adversaries were prostrate before him. The king of Takṣaśilā was his ally, the king of Abhisāra was his assistant, the younger Poros had fled away, the Kathaians were mown down and the Saubhas and Bhagalas were subordinate to him. Alexander was only a cat's paw to pull the chestnuts from the fire for Poros.

Alexander retired to the capital of Poros on the Jhelum. That time he decided on sailing down the river. Perhaps the revolts and uprisings of the frontier-tribes, like the Aśvakas, who had already slain the Greek governor and forced the satrap Sisikottos to report the matter to Alexander, when he had just patched up a peace with Poros, and, just after his departure from India, conspired to assassinate his newly appointed satraps Phillipos & Tyriaspes, who were deputed to quell their insurrection, barred his path in the north. But little did he know that the passage through southern Panjab was no less tough. This region is stated to have been inhabited by tribes, that are called 'independent', meaning thereby that they did not observe the monarchical form of government and had developed oligarchical constitutions. These people are called Āraṭṭas or Arāṣṭrakas in the Epic[142] and Coras (thieves) in the Buddhist texts.[143] The Kṣudrakas and Malavas were prominent representatives of this type of people. Though they failed to unite in that fateful moment, they offered a bitter struggle to Alexander. In one of their strongholds he received a disastrous wound on his breast, which nearly cost him his life. These people were zealous lovers of freedom. Most of them

142. *Mahābhārata* VIII, 44, 2070, *Baudhāyana-dharma-sūtra* I, 1, 2, 13-15, J. W. McCrindle, *The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great* p. 406.

143. *Vaṁsatthappakāsinī* (P.T.S) Vol. I p. 178 अथेकदिवसं ते चोरा एवं करोन्ता etc.

preferred the adversities of the jungles across the Ravi or the indiscriminate massacres at the hands of the Macedonians to a life of servility and vassalage. Even the 1,000 hostages of the tribes, who sued for peace after the terrible slaughter, following the wounding of Alexander, vehemently pleaded for their freedom. Sailing down the stream, the Greeks met the Abastanes (*Ambaṣṭhas*), Xathroi (*Kṣatragaṇa*) and Ossadioi (Vasatī). The Xathroi are the Kṣatragaṇa of the *Mudrārākṣasa* and the Rājanya of Pāṇini VI, 2, 34 and Kṣatriyas of his sūtra IV, 1,168. Their descendants are the Khatris of modern Panjab. The Ossadioi are the Vasāti of the Rājanyādi gaṇa given under sūtra IV, 2,53. After subduing these Kṣatriya oligarchies Alexander entered into Sindh.

Below the confluence of the Jhelum-Chenab with the Indus, the region was again dominated by strong monarchies. The Brāhmaṇas and Śūdras had their different settlements, which were mostly autonomous in all matters. On the whole, the Brāhmaṇas wielded a great influence on the kings and people and inspired them to guard their independence at all costs. However, there was a greater communal tinge of collectivism there, which expressed itself in common feasts in big assemblies. But discord and dissension were the order of the day there as in the Panjab. This region too had its Āmbhi in Sambos, the chief of the Mūśikas, a tribe, which was found in the Deccan also. As the former hastened to befriend Alexander, so the latter also found discretion to be the better part of valour. One Oxycanus attempted resistance, but the walls of his citadel could not bear the battering of the Greek engines. As Alexander advanced further, the Brāhmaṇas instigated the Mūśika chief to rise in revolt. But Pithon foiled his attempt and hanged him on a gibbet. The implacable Brāhmaṇas were massacred and mown down. One of their towns, the future Brahmanābad, was stormed. At the delta of the Indus, the empty city of Pattala, ruled over by two kings and a council of elders, received Alexander, as Moscow did Napoleon. All its people had deserted the city and fled away.

Sometime in september 325 B. C. India saw the Yavana columns move out of Pattala on the homeward road. Alexander decided to march through Gedrosia. At Hab the Arabitae (*Ārabhaṭa*) deserted their village. In their neigh-

bourhood, the oritae opposed the passage of the armies in effectually, their capital Rhambacia being occupied and made the site of an Alexandria. But these people did not submit so easily. Just after the departure of Alexander, they fought a grim battle with the Greeks, in which the satrap Apollophanes was also killed. The burning sand and sultry winds of the Gedrosian desert also took a heavy toll of life. Alexander himself greatly suffered for want of water. The Indian heat played the same part in driving Alexander as the Russian cold performed in repelling Napoleon.

Alexander's invasion brought the political and social structure of ancient Panjab into bold relief. The picture of the country, drawn by his historians, has unmistakable resemblance with that, presented by the gifted grammarian of the North-West, Pāṇini, who flourished one generation before him. The highlanders of the North-West, prominent among whom were the Aspasioi (Āśvāyana) of the Kunar valley and the Assakenoi (Āśvakāyana) of the Swat valley with their strongholds of Massaga (Maśakāvati) and Aornos (Varaṇā), were independent tribal groups defying political overlordship or regimentation. There were also pockets of Ionian Greek settlers like Nysa (*Naiṣa* Janapada of Patañjali). The kingdom of Gandhāra was divided into two parts, Puṣkalāvātī and Takṣaśilā, ruled over by the Astakenoi (Hāstināyana) and Omphis (Āmbhi) respectively, the first ready to defend their freedom to the last drop of blood and the second prepared to capitulate to the foreign invader to quell the menace of an ambitious rival. Between the Hydaspes and the Asikanes grew the great power of Poros (Parvataka) just after the time of Pāṇini and just before that of Alexander. Below his realm was the territory of another scion of his family, who was at daggers drawn with him. To the north were the Glausai (Glaucukāyana) and Abhisāra. To the east of the Hydraotes (Irāvati) lay the kingdoms of the Kathaians (Kaṭhas), Sophytes (Saubhūta) and Phegelas (Bhagala). The whole of western Panjab was studded with populous towns and flourishing villages. Strabo states that between the Jhelum and the Beas these were as many as 500 cities. Pāṇini also gives a list of about 750 town names. Most of these towns were tribal units, Janapadas, following the profession of mercenary soldiers. They

represented an admixture of indigenous and exotic elements. Their relation to one another was one of dissension, distrust and warfare. Yet the impact of the imperial system of the Achaemenians and the report of the mighty regimes of the eastern peoples gave impetus to the ideologies and movements of unity.

In southern Panjab the oligarchies of warrior-clans presented a contrast to the monarchical kingdoms of the North. The Oxydraoi (Kṣudraka), Malloi (Mālava), Sabastanoi (Ambaṣṭha), Ossadioi (Vasāti) etc. were Xathroi (Kṣatriya) or Rājanya groups, in which the military class was in the acsendant. It was these groups, which Karṇa had in mind, when he referred to the people of the North-West, the Madra and Gāndhāra, among whom the kings themselves performed the sacrifices, (Kṣatriya-yājakas of Pāṇini II, 2, 9)[144] and thus totally forfeited all merits of the oblations.[145] These people resisted the expansionist policies of imperialist powers.

Further south in Sindh there were distinct settlements, of Brāhmaṇas and Śūdras, Brāhmaṇaka and Śaudrāyaṇa, practising the profession of arms to safeguard their freedom. It appears that these clans contrasted with the Rājanya clans of the Doab region. They seem to have survived the expansion of the Rājanya clans in the Doab region. Their dominant system was monarchical.

On this chess-board of the Panjab the game of imperialist powers was gathering strength and the intrusion of Alexander added great momentum to it. He removed the barriers of isolation, broke the traditions of autonomy, bridged the gulf of tribal differences and made Poros the undisputed leader of the Panjab. He proved to be a harbinger of unity for north-western India, the successor of Pukkusāti and Paurava and the percursor of Cāṇakya and Candragupta.

8. *Kauṭilya and the Panjab.*

When the drama of imperialist movements and foreign

144. V. S. Agrawala, *India as known to Pāṇini* p. 74.

145. *Mahābhārata*, Karṇaparvan, 45, 40,

मद्रकेषु च संसृष्टं शौचं गान्धारकेषु च ।
राजयाजकराज्ये च नष्टं दत्तं हविर्भवेत् ॥

invasions was being enacted on the stage of the Panjab, a gifted observer was giving a new articulation and orientation to its main tendencies. We learn from the Pāli chronicles that Cāṇakya alias Kauṭilya was a resident of Takṣaśilā.[1] He was a Brāhmaṇa by birth. Having lost his father in infancy, he was brought up by his mother, who disliked the uneasy and ungrateful life of a king and wanted her son to be a teacher.[2]

1. *Vaṁsatthappakāsinī* (P.T.S) p. 181. तक्कसिलानगरवासी तस्मिं किर अञ्ञतरस्स ब्राह्मणस्स पुत्तो

Moggallāna's *Mahāvamsa* ed. G. P. Malalasekera *Extended Mahāvamsa* (Royal Asiatic Society Ceylon) V 61 वसन्तो सो तक्कासिलाह्वये पुरे

Vaṁsatthappakāsinī p. 181

सो पन पितरि मते मातुपोसको ति च राज-छत्तारह-महापुञ्ञो ति च लोके सम्भावितो अहोसि । सो हि एकदिवसं मातुया रोदन्तिया उपसंकमित्वा. "अम्म, त्वं कस्मा रोदसी" ति पुच्छित्वा, ताय, "तात, त्वं किर छत्तारह पुण्णवा त्वं पच्छा छत्तं उस्सापेत्वा राजा भविस्ससि, राजानो नाम कत्थचि विस्सट्ठपेमा होन्ति; त्वं मयि तात विस्सट्ठपेमो भविस्ससि, तदाहं अनाथा भविस्सामि ति चिन्तेत्वा रोदामि, तात" ति वुत्तो "अम्म, तं एतं पुञ्ञं किर मम सरीरे कत्थ पतिट्ठितं" ति पुच्छित्वा, ताय, "तुह्मं, तात, दाठासु" ति वुत्ते, अत्तनो दाठा भिन्दापेत्वा खण्डदन्तो हुत्वा पि सो मातरं पोसेसि । एवं सो मातुपोसको ति लोके सम्भावितो अहोसि ।

Extended Mahāvaṁsa V, 62-70 pp. 58-59

सुत्वान वचनं तेसं माता तस्स परोदति । दिस्वान विलपन्तिं सो किन्नु पुच्छि परोदसि ? नरा किर वदन्ता तं "भहापुञ्जो सुलक्खणो । सेतच्छत्तमनुरूपोऽयं, तात पुत्ता" ति सा ब्रवि ॥ तेनेव, पुत्त, अज्जेव मा त्वं राजा भविस्ससि । नरा तथा हि खत्तिया पेमं नाम न किञ्चि पि ॥ सूरा हुत्वा अवस्सं वा सत्तानं पि दिने दिने। यदा त्वं खत्तियो हुत्वा कपणं ममनाथकम् ॥ नत्थेव, पुत्त, पेमोऽसि यस्मा तस्मा परोदयिम् । पुञ्ञलक्खणं मे, अम्म, किन्नु अङ्गे ठितम् ब्रवि ॥ ठिन्तु पुञ्ञलक्खणं तव दाठम्हि, पुत्तक । मातुया पि वचो सुत्वा चाणक्क ब्राह्मणो सकं ॥ अधिमत्तसिनेहत्ता दाठं भिन्दापयि ततो

Pariśiṣṭaparvan of Hemacandra VIII, 197-198 ed. H. Jacobi p. 231

तं जातदन्तं जातं च मुनिभ्योऽकथयच्चणी ।
ज्ञानिनो मुनयोऽप्याख्यन्भावी राजैष बालकः ॥
राज्यारम्भेण मत्पुत्रो मा भून्नरकभागिति ।
अघर्षयत्तस्य दन्तान्पीडामगणयश्चणी ॥

Sukhabodhā of Devendragaṇin alias Nemicandra Sūrī (ed. Vijayomanga Sūrī) Nirṇaya Sāgara Press p. 57

पुत्तो से जाओ सह दाढाहि । साहूणं पाएसु पाडियो । कहियं च राया भविस्सइ त्ति मा दुग्गइं जाइस्सइ त्ति दंता घट्ठा

According to ancient traditions, his personal name was Viṣṇu-gupta.[3] On coming of age he became a teacher probably in some institution at Takṣaśilā, as we gather from the *Mudrārākṣasa*.[4] His deep regard for his home province is manifest from his injunction that a person, who slanders or vilifies Gandhāra, is liable to pay a fine.[5]

He was an adept in the three Vedas[6] and the science of politics.[7] His practical experience as a diplomat[8] and his

3. *Daśakumāracarita* of Daṇḍin ed. M. R. Kale (Bombay 1925) p. 191 अधीष्व तावद्दण्डनीतिम् । इयमिदानीमाचार्यविष्णुगुप्तेन मौर्यार्थे षड्भिः श्लोकसहस्रैः संक्षिप्ता । सैवेयमधीत्य सम्यगनुष्टीयमाना यथोक्तकर्मक्षमा

Nītisāra of Kāmandaka (introduction)

नीतिशास्त्रामृतं धीमानर्थशास्त्रमहोदधे : ।
समुद्दध्रे नमस्तस्मै विष्णुगुप्ताय वेधसे ॥

In the *Mudrārākṣasa* Cāṇakya is shown to refer to himself as Viṣṇu gupta. (Act I p. 97 ed. K. T. Telang) अन्यच्च नन्दमिव विष्णुगुप्त; Act VII p. 306 भो अमात्यराक्षस, विष्णुगुप्तोहमभिवादये C. D. Chatterji (*Early Life of Candragupta Maurya* in *B. C. Law Volume* I p. 510) holds that Viṣṇugupta was not the proper name of Kauṭilya or Cāṇakya but was rather the name of a later commentator of the *Arthaśāstra*, who rendered the original verses into prose. But it has to be borne in mind that usually the name of a person did not end in a taddhita derivative in ancient times. In the *Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtrā* I, 17, 2 it is expressly laid down that the name of a person should end in a Kṛdanta word and not a taddhita derivative पिता नाम करोति द्वयक्षरं चतुरक्षरं वा घोषवदाद्यन्तरन्तस्थं दीर्घाभिनिष्ठानं कृतं कुर्यान्न तद्धितम् Patañjali also lays down this injunction in his Mahābhāṣya on Pāṇini (I, 1,1 दशम्युत्तरकालं पुत्रस्य जातस्य नाम विदध्यात् घोषवदाद्यन्तरन्तःस्थमवृद्धं त्रिपुषा नूकमनरिप्रतिष्ठितं तद्धि प्रतिष्ठिततमं भवति द्वयक्षरं चतुरक्षरं वा नाम कृतं कुर्यान्न तद्धितम् Hence the presumption arises that the name of the author of the Arthaśāstra did not end in taddhita unless positive evidence comes forth to prove the contrary. We have, therefore, to conclude that the proper name of Kauṭilya was Viṣṇugupta rather than Cāṇakya which, is a patronymic derivative from Caṇaka, his father's name.

4. *Mudrārāksasa* Act I p. 63 चाणक्य :—वत्स कार्याभिनियोग एवास्मान् व्याकुलयति न पुनरुपाध्यायभूः शिष्यजने दुःशीलता vide also III, p. 158.

5. *Arthaśāstra* III, 18, p. 194 प्राज्जूणकगान्धारादीनांच जनपदोपवादा व्याख्याताः ।

6. *Vaṁsatthappakāsini* p. 181 तिण्णं वेदानं पारगू; *Extended Mahāvamsa* V, 60 तिण्णं वेदान पारगू

7. *Ibid* p. 181 मंतज्झायी

8. *Ibid* p. 181 नीतिपुरिसो

resourcefulness as a tactician[9] paralleled his command over the theory of state. He was also conversant with astronomy[10] and was regarded as an authority on metallugy.[11]

His knowledge of various arts and sciences[12] was encyclopaedic, as a perusal of his *Arthaśāstra* demonstrates. He seems to have studied the state-systems of the North-West and imbibed the spirit of the centralised administration launched by the Achaemenids. A tour to Pāṭaliputra in the East in quest of debate & discussion and, perhaps, money also acquainted him with the imperial institutions, that were maturing in Magadha. Being ignorant of the etiquette of court life in the splendid capital of the grand monarchy and used to the rugged and assertive manners of the simple colleges of the Āraṭṭa country, this choleric, uncouth and ugly Brāhmaṇa, with a toothless, wrinkled and swarthy expression[14], could not

9. *Ibid* p. 181 उपायकुसलो मायावी

10. *Bṛhajjātaka* of Varāhamihira XXI, 3
न कुम्भलग्नं शुभमाह सत्यः न भागभेदाद्यवना वदन्ति ।
कस्यांशभेदो न तथास्ति राशेः अतिप्रसङ्गस्त्विति विष्णुगुप्तः ॥
Bhaṭṭotpala's comment अत्र विष्णुगुप्तचाणक्यावाहतुः कस्यांशेति

11. In Arab countries Cāṇakya was known as Sāriaq and was regarded as an authority on metallurgy. The *Arthaśāstra* also refers to *Śubhadhātuśāstra* which shows the acquaintance of Kauṭilya with this science (Vide, Zachariae cited by C D. Chatterji, *Early Life of Candragupta Maurya* in *B. C. Law Volume* I p. 590)

12. *Sukhabodhā* Op. cit.
उम्मुकबालभावेण चोद्दसविज्जाठाणाणि आगमियाणि ।
अंगाइं चउरो वेया मीमंसा नायवित्थरो ।
पुराणं धम्मसत्थं च ठाणा चोद्दस आहिया ।
सिक्खा वागरणं चेव निरुत्तं छंद-जोइसं ।
कप्पो य अवरो होइ छज्च अंगा वियाहिया ॥

13. *Vaṁsatthappakāsinī* p. 182 अथेकदिवसं सो ब्राह्मणो वादं परियेसन्तो पुप्फपुरं गन्त्वा *Extended Mahāvaṁsa* V, 72 गवेसमानं उद्देसं पुप्फपुराह्वये पुरे । पुनेकदिवसे तस्मिँ तक्कसिलाभिनिक्खभि ॥

14. Jaina traditions attribute a monetary motive to the tour, *Pariśiṣṭaparvan* VIII, 214-15 p. 233
चाणक्योऽपि हि विज्ञातगृहिणीदुःखकारणः ।
द्रविणोपार्जनोपायं निरपायमचिन्तयत् ॥
पाटलिपुत्रनगरे नन्दराजो द्विजन्मनाम् ।
बिशिष्टां दक्षिणां दत्ते तदर्थं तत्र याम्यहम् ॥

conform to the discipline and decorum of the Nanda court. Entering suddenly in the 'hall of charity', he occupied the chair of the president without seeking royal permission and, on being asked to vacate it by the order of the king, flew into a rage and broke into cursing and had to be removed by the attendants.[15] Picqued by the slight, he pledged himself to vengeance and[16] then dabbled in the dissensions and intrigues of the palace. Fortunately he met the young Maurya prince Candragupta and brought him to Takṣaśilā. There he had him educated for seven or eight years in all sciences and humanities[17] and after that entered into a treaty with Parvataka or Poros for the invasion of Magadha. Meanwhile, the Macedo-

Sukhabodhā Op. cit. ता घणं उवज्जिणामि केणवि उवाएण नंदो पाडलिउत्ते दियाईण धणं देइ । तत्थ वच्चामि

14. *Extended Mahāvaṁsa* V, 71 p. 59
तेन पुरिसदोसेन सम्पन्नो ब्राह्मणो तु सो ।
बलंकपाददुब्बणो मातुभत्ति प्रसंसितो ॥

15. *Vaṁsatthappakāsinī* p. 182 तस्मिँ पन अनत्तमनो हुत्वा अनत्तमनवाचं निच्छारेन्तो, "कोऽसि त्वं संघब्राह्मणासने निसिन्नो' सी ?" ति तं पुच्छित्वा तेन "अहन्". ति वुत्ते, "एवं दुब्बणरूपं ब्राह्मणं इतो नीहरथ, मा इथ पविसितुं देथा" ति वत्वा दानव्यावटेन, "मा देव एवं करोतु, खमथ ब्राह्मणस्स, ति पुनप्पुनं वुच्चमानोऽपि तथेव आणापेसि ।

Extended Mahāvaṁsa V, 78-79
अनत्तमनसो येव दुरूपेन न इच्छति ।
'को एसो' ? पुच्छि, सुत्वा सो अमनापं उदीरयि ॥
सुत्वान वचनं राजा कोधं उप्पादयि तदा ।
नीहरथ, नीहरथ, मा देथीध पविसितुम् ।

16. *Pariśiṣṭaparvan* VIII, 217-233 gives a somewhat different version. When Cāṇakya occupied the main seat, the son of Nanda asked him to vacate it and sit on another. But Cāṇakya put his kamaṇḍalu on it. Likewie, he put his staff on another. This enchafed the king and he ordered their removal. *Sukhabodhā* Op.cit.; *Āvaśyaka-sūtra-Vṛtti* (Āgamodaya Samiti edition, Bombay) p. 693.

17. *Vaṁsatthappakāsinī* p. 182 निक्खन्तो यञ्ञसुत्तं च छिन्दित्वा कुण्डिकाय च इन्दखीलं पटिहञ्ञित्वा अभिसपित्वा व निक्खमि; *Extended Mahāvaṁsa* V,81-82
तस्मिँ क्रुद्धो समुट्ठाय यञ्ञसुत्तं च छिन्दिया ।
कुण्डिकं पटिहञ्ञित्वा इन्दकीलम्हि तावडे ॥
"वुड्ढि मा होतु तस्सेव" अभिसप्पेसि ब्राह्मणो ।
Sukhabodhā Op. cit.
अणया य भणइ
कोशेन भृत्यैश्च निबद्धमूलं पुत्रैश्च मित्रैश्च विवृद्धशाखम् ।
उत्पाट्य नन्द परिवर्तयाभि महाद्रुमं वायुरिवोग्रवेगः ॥

nian invasion came and Candragupta paid a visit to Alexander with a view to securing his assistance for the conquest of the Nandas. How he mediated between Alexander and Poros on the battle-field of the Hydaspes, we have already seen. After the retreat of Alexander and the mounting of the tide of discontent against foreign rule, Kauṭilya and his royal pupils rode on its crest and proclaimed a war of liberation and unification.[19] Canalising the disgruntled and disjointed elements of the tribal groups of the Panjab through a movement of unity, he advanced towards the capital of the Nandas. The Gangetic plain saw the northern peoples marching along its smiling fields towards the magnificent metropolis of Magadha.[20] But discord divided the conquerors and the diplomat of Takṣaśilā found an occasion of exercising his genius by suppressing fissiparous forces through consent or coercion. After the consolidation of the Maurya empire, he assisted in the construction of the institutions, which he had visualised in the shadow of the Achaemenian empire in Gandhāra. Though it is said that he retired from practical politics after the coronation of

Parisiṣṭaparvan VIII, 224-225 p. 249
पश्यत: सर्वलोकस्य प्रतिज्ञामकरोदिमाम् ।
सकोशभृत्यं ससुहृत्पुत्रं सबलवाहनम् ॥
नन्दमुन्मूलयिष्याभि महावायुरिव द्रुमम् ।

Vaṁsatthappakāsini p. 185 तं सत्तटठवस्सिकं एव उग्गहितसिप्पकव् च बाहुसच्चभावञ्च अकासि ।

Extended Mahāvamsa V, 122 p. 61
याचित्वा चन्दगुत्तं तं उद्दिसापयितुं ततो ।
गहेत्वान कुमारं सो उद्दिसापिय सिक्खति ॥

Pariśiṣṭaparvan VIII, 297-300 p. 241
तमन्यदोचे चाणक्यो नन्दमुन्मूल्य पार्थिवम् ।
तद्राज्यं संविभज्यावां गृह्णीव भ्रातराविव ॥
ततः पर्वतकेनापि प्रत्यपद्यत तद्वचः ।
स हि चाणक्य युक्तोऽभूत्सन्नद्ध इव केसरी ।

Sukhabodhā pp. 57-58 हिमवन्तकुडं मेत्तिकया पव्वओ राया नंदरज्जं समं समेण विभजयामो

Justin in McCrindle, *The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great* p. 328

Mudrārākṣasa Act II p. 122 अस्ति तावच्छकयवनकिरातकाम्बोजपारसीक बाह्लीकप्रभृतिभिश्चाणक्यमतिपरिगृहीतैश्चन्द्रगुप्तपर्वतेश्वरबलैरुदधिभिरिव प्रलयोच्चलितसलिलै: समन्तादुपरुद्धम् कुसुमपुरम् ।

Candragupta, yet it is well-known that he continued to preside over the destiny of the Maurya empire for three successive reigns of Candragupta, Bindusāra and Aśoka.[21]

In this long term of chancellorship, he built the empire on the firm foundation of unity and strength. The career of this master-mind from an ugly teacher to an imperial chancellor is a lasting tribute to the greatness of the Indian people.

As said above, Gandhāra formed part of the Achaemenian empire. It was included in the seventh taxation unit of the list of Herodotus.[22] It was adminsitered by the centralised and bureaucratic machinery, which Darius I had forged in the furnance of his genius. In ancient times this system of governance became the model for the organization of large political units. The administration, introduced in the Ionian cities after the suppression of their revolt in 493 B.C. provided the pattern for the constitution of the Delian League, founded by the Athenian statesman Aristeides in 478 B.C.[23] Likewise the organization of the satrapy of Gandhāra became the prototype of the régime adumbrated in the Ar haśāstra of Kauṭilya. We have seen that the satrap, in charge of the administration of the province, was appointed by the king and was directly responsible to him. Next to him was the commander-in-chief, who held an equal rank being directly responsible to the king. Parallel to these two posts was that of the collector of taxes. The satrap was doubled by a secretary, who supervised all his actions and provided the laison between him and the central court. Besides him, the inspectors, called the 'ears of the king', kept a strict eye on the affairs of the satrap. They were quite independent, empowerd to own armed forces and commissioned to travel all over the empire and pay unexpected visits to the administrators. Each year special *missi dominici* toured through the country to control & supervise the local administration. A

21. *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa* ed. K. P. Jayaswal, *An Imperial History of India* p. 33 (text)

चाणक्य इति विख्यातः क्रोधसिद्धस्तु मानवः ।
यमान्तको नाम वै क्रोधः सिद्धस्तस्य च दुर्मतेः ।।
तेन क्रोधाभिभूतेन प्राणिनो जीविताद्धता ।
कृत्वा तु पातकं तीव्रं त्रीणि राज्यानि वै तदा ।।

22. G. Rawlinson, *Herodotus* Vol. II p. 486

23. Arnold J. Toynbee, *The Greaco-Roman Civilization* in *Civilization on Trial* p. 60

ubiquitous net-work of spies examined every aspect of government inside out and readily reported the state of affairs to the imperial secretariat.[24] Justice was administered by royal judges, who held office until their death, unless they were removed for unjust conduct. After the adoption of bimetallic currency, which had been introduced by Croesus in Lydia, payments of wages and salaries began to be made mostly in cash. Only one third of them was paid in kind.

The state organized and regularised taxation and made an attempt to control work and wages. We learn from the tablets from the treasury at Persepolis that the wages of each class of workmen were strictly regulated, the pay of a child, woman or labourer or skilled worker being precisely calculated. Even the fees of priests was fixed; the magi, incharge of the preparation of hoama, received twelve jars of wine per year, one jar being worth one shekel.[25]

The scheme of political organization, expounded in the Arthaśāstra, breathes this spirit of Achaemenian étatisme. The provincial and local administration was run by centrally appointed and controlled officers rather than autonomous chieftains liable to make fixed contributions to the imperial exchequer and provide an agreed number of recruits to the army. Below the king, the *samāhartā* was the head of a unit of 3,200 villages,[26] then the *sthānīya* was incharge of a circle of 800 villages, next to him the *droṇamukha* administered a division of 400 villages, under him the *kharvaṭika* controlled a district of 200 villages, then the *sangrahaṇa* was responsible for a pocket of 10 villages and lastly the *gopa* managed the affairs of 5 villages.[27] The *nāgaraka* looked after the administration of the city.[28] At the capital a secretariat, consisting of 31 departments, each having its president, called *adhyakṣa*, administered and superintended collections and revenue, mines, gold, stores,

24. Eduard Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums Vol* III pp. 66-68.
25. R. Ghirshman, *Iran.* pp. 154-156.
26. *Arthaśāstra* II, 35 p. 141
समाहर्ता चतुर्धा जनपदं विभज्य......निबन्धयेत् अष्टशतग्राम्या मध्ये स्थानीयं, चतुश्शतग्राम्या द्रोणमुखं, द्विशतग्राम्या खार्वटिकं, दशग्रामीसंग्रहेण संग्रहणं स्थापयेत् *Ibid,* II 35 p. 142 पंचग्रामीं गोपश्चिन्तयेत्
27. *Arthaśāstra* II 1 p. 46
28. *Ibid* II, 36 p. 143 समाहर्तृवन्नागरको नगरं चिन्तयेत् ।

commerce, forests, armoury, weights and measures, customs, spining and weaving industry, agriculture, excise, slaughter-houses, courtezans, shipping, cattle, horses, elephants, chariots, infantry, passports, pastures, metals, mint, treasury, elephant forests, general trade, religious institutions, gambling, jails and ports. The policy of these departments was chalked out by the advisers of the king and their activities were correlated by a council of ministers having its chairman[29] and chief.[30] The salaries of all these officers were fixed in cash, though sometimes payments were also made in kind, and occasionally fields were also endowed without the right of alienation. The highest salary was 48,000 paṇas, payable to the chief minister, chief priest, commander-in-chief and the crown-prince and the lowest was 60 paṇas of the menial staff, peons, orderlies, labourers, cowherds and trappers.[31] The ministers and high officials had to undertake periodical tours[32] and special officers on duty were commissioned to supervise every aspect of administration and public interest.[33] Besides these measures, an intricate system of espionage kept everybody up on his toes. The spies were meticulously trained in their jobs and penetrated into every walk of life in every guise, viz. of students, ascetics, householders and recluses.[34] Female spies were active as nuns and courtezans. Everybody in every calling had a fellow-worker to espy his conduct. Thus the whole government was enjoined to be a vigilance committee and an information bureau.

The above accounts of Achaemenian administration and Kauṭiliyan polity clearly show how they resemble and complement each other on vital points. The spirit of Darius possessed the mind of Kauṭilya to a considerable extent. This

29. *Ibid.* I, 12, p. 20 मंत्रिपरिषदध्यक्ष

30. *Ibid.* I, 9, p. 15

31. *Ibid.* V, 3, pp. 247-249

32. *Ibid.* I, 21 p. 45 निर्याणे गच्छेत् Aśoka developed this practice into the tour of all officials ते महमाता निखमिसंति अनुसयानम्

33. *Ibid* II, 7 p. 62 the officials of the department of the accountant general अक्षपटलाध्यक्ष performed the functions of general supervision. They had to bring the officials in a meeting for purposes of exchange and correlation of information.

34. *Ibid* I, 12 pp. 20-21; I, 11, p. 18

builder of bureaucratic institutions imperceptibly fired the imagination of a political thinker of a capital of his peripheral satrapy two generations after the elimination the rule of his dynasty from there.

The pivot of the theory of centralised and nationalised administration, developed in the *Arthaśāstra*, was a new conception of royal authority, to the formation of which the Achaemenids made a substantial contribution. We have seen that Darius I was the first to make an experiment in a centralized bureaucracy. Hence it was quite natural that he had to assume supreme legislative power and give himself out as the maker of law. In the Bisutun inscription he rightly remarked. "By the favour of Ahuramazda, the countries showed respect towards my law; as was said to them by me, thus was it done." That this assertion had much substance is manifest from the fact that Darius' collection of laws was in use among the Babylonions as early as his second regnal year. In the whole of Mesopotamia the phrase *data śa śarri*, meaning "according to the king's law they shall make good," was substituted for the usual guarantee of the seller. Even the term for 'law' was new; in place of the familiar 'judgment', the Iranian term *data* became current, as the Book of Esther shows.[35] These notions of royal power and prerogative crystallised in the empire set up by the Seleucids in the Near East on the foundations of the Achaemenid state. The Seleucids claimed divinity for themselves, as we find in a relief depicting Seleucos Nicator being worshipped as the founder of Dura.[36] In these states the main source of the new and uniform civil law was royal authority directly manifested in the decisiors and rulings of royal officers. To quote Rostovtzeff,[37] "this variety of juridical systems was dominated by the royal legislation and jurisdiction. It is evident that a royal law, order or regulation,

35. T. Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire* (Chicago 1943) pp. 119ff; G. G. Cameron, *Ancient Persia* in *The Idea of History in the Ancient Near East* ed. Robert C. Dentan (Yale University Press, 1955) pp 90-91.

36. M. I. Rostovtzeff, *Dura-Europos and its Art*, frontispiece; F. E. Brown in *The Excavations at Dura-Europos, Preliminary Report of the Seventh and Eighth Seasons of Work* pp. 258-60.

37. M. I. Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World* pp. 1067-8

if it conflicted with other laws, was always regarded as overriding them and that the royal verdict in law suits was final."

Residing at Takṣaśilā, under the shadow of Achaemenian ideas, Kauṭilya was also bound to give priority to royal authority as a source of law, though his vāhika heritage prevented him from subscribing to the theory of the divinity of kingship. K. A. Nilakaṇṭa Sastri has shown that in ch. III, 1 Kauṭilya propounds the doctrine of the overriding validity of royal decrees and edicts and introduces a new element of absolutism in Hindu political philosophy. U. N. Ghosal[39] has expressed his dissent from this view and held that the conception of royal decree as source of law is conspicuous by absence in the *Artha-śāstra*, He interpreted the relevant verse[40] in it as referring to the law of procedure, according to which a suit has four feet, dhrama, vyavahāra, caritra and rajaśāsana, each latter overriding those mentioned before. For settling this issue a consideration of the broad context of Kauṭiliyan administration is necessary. In his scheme all important aspects of public life are controlled by the state and all sources of country's wealth are regulated by central authority. Besides

38. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, 'The place of Arthaśāstra in the Literature of Indian Polity', *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* Vol.XXVIII (1947) pp. 88-89.

The age of the Nandas and Mauryas pp. 198-199;

Hiriyanna Commemoration Volume p. 146, 'Kautilya on

Royal Authority', *Indian Historical Quarterly* Vol XXIX (1953) p. 175

39. U. N. Ghoshal, 'The Authority of the King in Kauṭilya's Political Thought, *Indian Historical Quarterly* Vol. XXVIII (1952) p. 307. 'Kauṭilya on Royal Authority,' *Indian Historical Quarterly* Vol. XXIX (1953) p. 286

40. The relevant verses are in *Arthaśāstra* III, 1 p. 150.

धर्मश्च व्यवहारश्च चरित्रं राजशासनम् ।
विवादार्थश्चतुष्पादः पश्चिमः पूर्वबाधकः ।
अत्र सत्यस्थितो धर्मो व्यवहारस्तु साक्षिषु ।
चरित्रं संग्रहे पुंसां राज्ञामाज्ञा तु शासनम् ॥

41. *Arthaśāstra* II, 21 p. 110.

ध्वजमूलमतिक्रान्तानां चाकृतशुल्कानां शुल्कादष्टादशगुणो दण्डः ।
पथिकोत्पथिकास्तद्विद्युः । The passess-by are also authorised to arrest any person, who is wounded, carries a heavy load, wears an exasperated expression, looks sleepy, seems fatigned by a journey or appears in strange fashion in temples, forests, crematories and holyplaces (*Ibid* II, 36 p. 144) पथिकोत्पथिकाश्च बहिरन्तश्च नगरस्य देवगृहपुण्यस्थानवनश्मशानेषु सव्रणमनिष्टोपकरणमुद्भाण्डीकृतमाविग्नमतिस्वप्नमध्वक्लान्तमपूर्वं वा गृह्णीयुः ।

the radiation of country and town administration from the centre and the direction of national economy by the secretariat, a vast volume of legislation forms the texture of checks and balances to harmonise the life of the individual with that of the community. For instance, the passers-by have to note whether the traders have paid the octroi at the toll-barriers near the gates of towns,[41] the hotel-keepers have to report suspicious guests to the officers,[42] the courtezans have to watch the activities of persons, who spend extravagently and are of unusual conduct, [43] the physicians have to inform the authorities about abnormal cases;[44] the citizens have to contribute a rat-cess on the out-break of plague[45] and have to keep in readiness the equipment for extinguishing fire and use it promptly in the event of conflagrations,[46] the villagers have to work on state-projects on their turns and have to conform to the code of rural conduct. Derelictions in the discharge of these civic duties are punishable at law. Such laws are quite unique in Indian jurisprudence and their promulgation can only be ascribed to the legislative competence of the king. Thus there is ample justification for the view that Kauṭilya recognized royal decree as the foremost source of law. After him Nārada and Hārīta developed this theory in detail.

Besides the impact of Achaemenian conceptions, Kauṭilya underwent the influence of the ideas of collective life, current among the oligarchical and monarchical tribal units of the Panjab, following the profession of arms. We have seen above that the Punjab was rampant with such tribal groups, some of Irano-Bactrian origin, others representing admixtures of

42. *Ibid.* II 25 p. 120 वणिजस्तु संवृतेषु कक्ष्याविभागेषु स्वदासीभिः पेशलरूपाभिरागन्तूनामवास्तव्यानां च आर्यरूपाणां मत्तसुप्तानां भावं विद्युः ।

43. *Ibid.* II, 36. p. 144 शौण्डिकपाक्वमांसिकौदनिकरूपाजीवा: परिज्ञातमावासयेयु: । अतिव्ययकर्तारमत्याहितकर्माणं च निवेदयेयु: ।

44. *Ibid.* II, 36, p. 144 चिकित्सक: प्रच्छन्नव्रणप्रतीकारकारयितारमपथ्यकारिणं च गृहस्वामीं च निवेद्य गोपस्थानिकयोर्मुच्येत् अन्यथा तुल्यदोषस्स्यात् ।

45. *Ibid.* IV. 3 p. 209 मूषिककरं वा प्रयुञ्जीत ।

46. *Ibid.* II, 36 p. 145 पादः पञ्चघटीनां कुम्भद्रोणीनिश्रेणीपरशु शूर्पाकुंशकचग्रहणीदृतीनां च अकरणे । स्वगृहप्रद्वारेषु गृहस्वामिनो वसेयु: । प्रदीप्तमनभिधावतो गृहस्वामिनो द्वादशपणो दण्डः ।

exotic and indigenous elements, at the time of the invasions of Darius and Alexander.[47].

Some of these tribes had developed Spartan institutions, which regimented the individuals by procrustean standards and the knowledge of which may have come during the Achaemenid period. We have seen that among the Kaṭhas the individuals were allowed to live in conformity with the fixed standrads of physique and features. Children were examined by state officials at the age of two months and those, perfect in limbs and features, were allowed to be reared, and those, defective in health and expression, were destroyed as unworthy of becoming members of the community. To ensure this system of child-breeding, marriages were contracted in accordance with eugenic principles. Beauty and physique of the bride were the sole determining factors in her selection; dowry, riches and fortune did not come in the picture at all. A natural corollary of these customs was the practice of selecting the king on the basis of his bulid and looks.[48] These institutions bear comparison with those of Sparta devised by the overseer Chilon about 550 B .C. and ascribed to the 'god' Lycurgus. According to Plutarch, the Spartans "saw nothing but vulgarity and vanity in the sexual conventions of the rest of mankind, who take care to serve their bitches and their mares with the best sires, that they can manage to borrow or hire, yet lock their women up and keep them under watch and ward in order to make sure that they shall bear children exclusively to their husbands, as though this were a husband's sacred right even if he happens to be feeble—minded or senile or diseased."[49] Accordingly, the Spartan had no objection to the begetting of children on his wife by a man better than himself. The children thus born were subjected to medical examination by public authorities and, if found below the standard of health, were put out to die of exposure.[50] If

47. Jean Przyluski, 'Les Sālvas', *Journal Asiatique* (929) p. 348 "on vit naître des confédérations groupées sous l'hégémonie d'une famille princière et dont les chefs entretenaiant des bandes armées redoutées des gens de la plaine. Ainsi se crea un nouveau type d'organisation politique superposée aux anciennes tribus indépéndents et qui préparait le terrain aux futurs empires centralisés"

48. J.W. McCrindle, *The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great*, pp. 280.

49. Plutarch, *Life of Lycurgus, Ch. XV*

50. Plutarch, *Life of Lycurgus*, *Ch.* XVI

allowed to live, they were snatched from their families after the age of 7 and subjected to the rigours of public education in droves. Both boys and girls, were trained in athletics on a competitive basis and had to compete naked in public. In such a society the procreation of children was a bounden duty and bachelors were penalised by the state as well as insulted by their juniors. On the other hand, the father of three sons was exempt from mobilization and the father of four from all obligations towards the state.[51] Thus it is natural that ascetics, hermits and recluses were looked down upon in such an environment. This atmosphere explains why Kauṭilya lays an embargo on the construction of monasteries and rest-houses for recluses in countryside[52] and prescribes a penalty for a person, who takes to ascetic life without providing for his family and instigates the women to do so.[53] As a matter of fact, the ascetic orders were occasionally the asylums of anti-social elements. We learn from the Jātakas[54] that some people

51. Aristotle, *Politics* 1270 B, 1-5, Xenophon, *Respublica Lacedaemoniorum* Ch. I Cited in M. P. Nilsson, 'Die Grundlagen des Spartanischen Lebens', *Klio* Vol XII (1912) pp. 325-335.

52. *Arthaśāstra* II, 1, p. 48 वानप्रस्थादन्य: प्रव्रजितभाव: नास्य जनपदमुपनिवेशेत् । न च तत्रारामा विहारार्था: शालास्स्यु: ।

53. *Ibid.* पुत्रदारमप्रतिविधाय प्रव्रजत: पूर्वस्साहसदण्ड । स्त्रियं च प्रव्राजयत: । लुप्तव्यवाय: प्रव्रजेदावृश्चय धर्मस्वान् (आपृच्छय धर्मस्थान्) अन्यथा नियम्येत् *Ibid*, IV, 1, p. 204 In III, 20 p. 199 the feeding of a Buddhist, Ājivika and and Śūdra, who turned an ascetic, on religions occasions is an offence punishable with fine :

शाक्याजीवकादीन् वृषलप्रव्रजितान् देवपितृकार्येषु भोजयतश्शत्यो दण्ड:

Kauṭilya classes the Bhikṣus among these people, who call themselves thieves and bear the names of non-thieves :

एवं चोरानचोराख्यान् वणिक्कारुकुशीलवान् ।
भिक्षुकान्कुहकांश्चान्यान् वारयेद्देशपीडनात् ॥

This antipathy to the ascetic orders was natural to a northerner and could not be expected of a resident of Magadha in the east. Winternitz has shown that in Magadha the influence of the ascetic orders was so deep that even Kauṭilva had to prescribe some days on which the slaughter of animals was prohibited in order to respect the sentiments of the people of a conquered country. (*Arthaśāstra* XIII, 14 p. 409; M. Winternitz, 'The Jainas in the History of Indian literature', *Indian Culture* Vol. I p. 143) But a man of the North could have the audacity to condemn these orders outright.

Jātaka ed. Fausböll "इमे दिस्वा समणवेसेन चरित्वा रत्ति अनाचारं करोन्ति" ति पब्बजितानं कुज्झित्वा मय्हं विजिते सब्बे पब्बजिता पलायन्तु दिडढ्दिढ्ढान नेव राजानं करिस्सन्ति भेरिं चरापेसि ।

played the role of Dr. Jeykll and Mr. Hyde by passing as ascetics in day and committing nefarions offences at night. Hence the king was angry with them and issued a proclamation that all ascetics should quit his kingdom. A statesman, trained in the traditions of vāhika military guilds, could have no place for lotus-eaters, truants and ascetics in his polity. How could he forget the Zoroastrian injunction that a man, who neglected his fields, was wicked, with which Iranian influence must have familiarised him.[55]

We know that the Lycurgan institutions were the basis of the last two books of Aristotle's *Politics* and Plato's *Laws* and *Republic*. Since the Spartans condemned every entertainment, which deflected the people from military regimentation, we find Plato proscribing the poets in his Utopia. In northern and western India also some communities banished poets, dancers and acrobats from their settlements especially in times of war. We learn from the *Mahābhārata* that when the Sālva king Saubha invaded the Vṛṣṇis and Andhakas of Saurāṣṭra and besieged their capital, the defenders thought that in the event of even slight delinquincy on their part the invaders will storm them.

55. Ghirshman *Iran* p. 162.

The Vāhika tribes were organized on oligarchical principles. Arrian states that the governing body of the Ionian state of Nysa consisted of 300 members with Akouphis as their chief. Alexander asked him to send 100 of the best men, selected from the governing body, to join his retinue, at which the chief laughed.[59] Likewise the Kṣudrakas and the Mālavas are stated to have sent the leading men of their cities and their provincial governors, besides 150 of their most eminent men, to conclude the treaty with Alexander.[60] Among these oligarchies, only the members of the ruling Kṣatriya caste were entitled to the designations, mālavya and kṣaudrakya. They resembled the 'peers' of Sparta. These 'peers' owned lands in almost equal allotments worked by serfs and helots. The oligarchs usually elected their chief, but more often than not they broke into rivalry and dissension on this score. The quarrel among the Kṣudraka-Mālavas on the eve of Alexander's invasion, which made unified resistance impossible, is an instance in point. On the other hand the striding advance of big monarchies, fortified by strong and centralised administration, eclipsed them and spelled their decline. The discussion among the democrat Otanes, the oligarchist Megabyzus and the monarchist Darius, reported by Herodotus[61], brings out the relative strength and stability of monarchical rule. But Kauṭilya, who was the victim of the unbridled insolence of the Nanda King[62], could ill afford to neglect the necessity of checks on autocracy. Hence he utilized the experience of Vāhika oligarchies in providing for a large council of ministers comparable to the thousand ṛṣis of the cabinet of Indra. The king is advised to call a meeting of the council and follow the decision of the majority.[63] Thus Kauṭilya tried to reconcile the oligarchical and monarchical institutions current in his time.

59. Arrian, '*Invasion*' p., 81.

60. Arrian, '*Invasion*', p. 81.

61. Herodotus, *History* III, 79-81 tr. G. Rawlinson Vol II pp. 476-477.

62. *Vaṁsatthappakāsinī* p. 182 reproduces the remark of Kauṭilya as
राजानो नाम दुरासदा होन्ति

63. *Arthaśāstra* I, 15 p. 29.
इन्द्रस्य हि मंत्रिपरिषदृषीणां सहस्रं । तच्चक्षुः । तस्मादिमं द्वयक्षं सहस्राक्षमाहुः । आत्ययिके कार्ये मन्त्रिणो मन्त्रपरिषदं चाहूय ब्रूयात् तत्र यद्भूयिष्ठाः कार्यसिद्धिकरं वा ब्रूयुस्तत्कुर्यात् ।

In his land policy also Kauṭilya was influenced by the institutions of the Panjab. Strabo noted that, among some tribes of the North-West, land was cultivated in common by a number of families, who shared the produce in harvest time according to needs for the coming year and then destroyed the remainder so as to encourage industrious habits.[64] In the Achaemenian and Hellenistic worlds the doctrine of the state ownership of land was predominant. In the words of Rostovtzeff, "absolute rule meant, alike from the Egyptian and from the Macedonian point of view, the ownership of the state of its soil and subsoil and ultimately of the products of the soil and the sub-soil. The state was the house (oikos) of the king and its territory his estate. So the king managed the state as a plain Macedonian or Greek would manage his own household."[65] Though this view is not so clearly enunciated in the *Arthaśāstra*, yet the right of the state to control and regulate agricultural operations is adumbrated at length in it.[66] Kauṭilya divides land into two categories, that, which was directly cultivated and managed by the state and placed under the charge of the sītādhyakṣa, and that, which was farmed out to tenants on a normal rent of one sixth of the produce, which could vary to one fourth or one third in periods of emergency. The first kind of land was the property of the crown[67] and its yield passed under the custody of the koṣṭhāgārādhyakṣa, but the second kind was also subject to the strict control of the state. It was settled on rent with the cultivator for life.[68] The general principle was that land belonged to him, who tilled it. Hence the inability to cultivate land rendered it liable to forfeiture.[69] Of course, the state advanced seed, cattle and capital to promote cultivation[70], but it also expected contributions from the culti-

64. Strabo XV, 1, 66, J. W. McCrindle, *Ancient India as described in Classical Literature* p. 72.

65. M.I. Rostoztzeff, *Social and Economica History of the Hellenistic World* p. 269.

66. Bernhard Broeler, *Kauṭılya Studien* Vol I pp. 77-93.

67. *Arthaśāstra II*, 24 p. 115. सीताध्यक्ष बहुहलपरिकृष्टायां स्वभूमौ दासकर्मकरदण्डप्रतिकर्तृभिर्वापयेत् ।

68. *Arthaśāstra* II, 1, p. 47. करदेभ्यः कृतक्षेत्राण्यैकपुरुषिकाणि प्रयच्छेत्

69. *Ibid*. अकृषतामाच्छिद्यान्येभ्यः प्रयच्छेत्

70. *Ibid*. धान्यपशुहिरण्यैश्चैनाननुगृह्णीयात्तान्यनुसुखेन दद्युः ।

vators in the shape of labour, bullocks and money for cooperative undertakings launched in the village.[71] Some lands were granted free of rent and taxes to teachers, priests, scholars and and officials in lieu of salaries, but they could not be alienated by sale or mortgage. Thus what is called unstinted private ownership of land had no place in the system of Kauṭilya. This position somewhat accords with the observation of the Greek writers that in the Maurya age all land was deemed to belong to the crown.[72]

Besides land, all tanks and ponds and their products, fish, ducks and aquatic plants, were the property of the state.[73] Similarly the sub-soil yield and minerals belonged to the crown and were managed by the ākarādhyakṣa,[74] all forest produce was also its concern and was looked after by the kupyādhyakṣa,[75] pastures were controlled by the vivītādhyakṣa,[76] and cattle, horses and elephants by the heads of their departments respectively.[77] All roads and waterways were also state property.[78] Kauṭilya's roads are direct replicas of Achaemenian roads, which ensured the interconnections of the far-flung satrapies. All trade and commerce, passing along them, was also controlled and licenced by the state.[79] Thus we observe that the land system of Kauṭilya recalls the conditions prevailing in the Panjab.

We have seen above that among some tribes of the Panjab the law of the compulsory medical examination of children was prevalent. It involved the registration of births by state officials, which was current among the Mauryas. Megasthenes observed that "the third body consists of those, who enquire when and how births and deaths occur, with a view not only

71. *Ibid.* सम्भूय सेतुबन्धादप्रकामतः कर्मकरबलीवर्दाः कर्म कुर्युः । व्ययकर्मणि च भागी स्यात् । न चांशं लभेत ।

72. *Cambridge History of India* Vol I p. 368-428.

73. *Arthaśāstra* II, 1, p. 47.
मत्स्यप्लवहरितपण्यानां सेतुषु राजा स्वाम्यं गच्छेत् ।

74. *Ibid.* II, 12 pp. 80-85.

75. *Ibid.* II, 17 pp. 99-101.

76. *Ibid.* II, 33 pp. 140-141.

77. *Ibid.* II, 31-32 pp. 135-140.

78. *Ibid.* II, 4 p. 55 ; VII, 12, p. 300.

79. *Ibid.* II, 21 p. 97 पण्याध्यक्षः स्थलजलजानां नानाविधानां पण्यानां स्थलपथवारिपथोपयातानां सारफल्गवर्घान्तरं प्रियाप्रियतां च विद्यात् ।

to levying a tax, but also in order that births and deaths among both high and low may not escape the cognizance of government."[80] We find this custom in the *Arthaśāstra* in connection with the census of citizens and the collection of vital statistics, which are based on the same trend of administration.[81] In the Achaemenian empire there was a practice of collecting statistics for fiscal and economic purposes.

Though Kauṭilya subscribes to the traditional order of varṇas and āśramas, he does not attach any particular sanctity to the Brāhmaṇas. This is manifest from the provision of capital punishment by drowning for a Brāhmaṇa guilty of having designs on the throne, forcing his way in the harem, instigating the enemies and foresters to rebellion and thus becoming a menace to the state.[82] We know that among some tribes of the Panjab the rules of caste were very lax and the Kṣatriyas themselves performed the sacrifices without the aid of the Brāhmaṇas. In this milieu the aforesaid injunction of Kauṭilya, reminiscent of the Vedic provision of capital sentence for a Brāhmaṇa[83], guilty of treason, becomes understandable. Kauṭilya's subordination of religion to the needs of the state is evident in the activities of the department of the devatādhyakṣa,[84] and his policy of debasing the coinage, complained of in the Pāli[85] commentaries, also proves that his outlock was completely secular.

80. McCrindle, *Megasthenes and Arrian* p. 87.

81. *Arthaśāstra* II, 35 p. 142 गृहाणां च करदाकरदसंख्यानेन । तेषु चैतावच्चातुर्वर्ण्यमेतावन्तः कृषकगोरक्षकवैदेहककारुकर्मकरदासाश्चैतावच्च द्विपदचतुष्पदमिदं चैष हिरण्यविष्टिशुल्कदण्डस्समुत्तिष्ठतीति ।

82. *Ibid.* II, 36 p. 144.
स तस्यां स्त्रीपुरुषाणां जातिगोत्रनामकर्मभिः जंघाग्रमायव्ययौ च विद्यात् ।

83. *Ibid.* IV, 11 p 229 राज्यकामुकमन्तःपुरप्रघर्षकमटव्यमित्रोत्साहकं दुर्गराष्ट्रदण्डकोपकं वा शिरोहस्तप्रादीपिकं घातयेत् । ब्राह्मणं तमपः प्रवेशयेत्

T. Gaṇapati Śāstrin reads the line ब्राह्मणं तमपः प्रवेशयेत् as ब्राह्मणं तमः प्रवेशयेत् and interprets it to mean that the Brāhmaṇa, guilty of the aforesaid offence, was cast into a dark dungeon. But Buddhist literature expressly lets us know that the Brāhmaṇas were not exempt from capital punishment.

(*Majjhimanikāya* II, 88)
Pañcaviṁśabrāhmaṇa XIV, 6, 8; *Vedic Index* II p. 84.

84. *Arthaśāstra* V, 2 p. 244.

85. *Vaṁsatthappakāsinī* p. 183 एकं कहापणं अट्ठकहापणग्घनिकं कत्वा असीतिकोटिप्पमाणरासीं कत्वा. For comments see D.D. Kosambi, *Introduction to the Study of Indian History* (Bombay 1956) p. 212.

Kauṭilya has prescribed the punishment of shaving the head by brickbat for certain offences.[86] Shaving the head was a Persian punishment. We learn from the *Wei-shu* that lighter offences were punished in Persia by shaving the scalp and thus disgracing the offender.[87] In Persia hair were very much prized. The festival of the washing of the hair was celebrated on the king's birthday. In the Maurya period also the king ceremoniously washed his hair on his birthday, as we gather from the accounts of Greek writers.

The aforesaid discussion shows that Kauṭilya was considerably influenced by the customs, practices and laws of the tribes and communities of the Panjab, where Persian impulses were also at work.

We have seen above that the tribal janapadas of the Panjab constituted the institutional foundations of Kauṭilyan polity. Many of the communities followed the profession of arms and had developed Spartan constitutions. Kauṭilya calls them āyudhajīvīs.[89] Most of these settlements eschewed the order of castes and callings held sacred in orthodox Brahmanism. In them the autocracy of kings and priests did not strike root. Hence they were termed as stateless or arāṣṭrakas[90] (Prakrit āraṭṭa). It is probably this word *āraṭṭa*, which has become *aroḍā* in modern times. The aroḍās are a widespread Khatri community in modern Panjab. They represent the ancient āraṭṭa Kṣatriyas, who lived on warfare in their numerous janapadas. Kauṭilya calls these settlements *coragaṇa*[91] or republics of robbers. This term answers to the description of these people as "thieves" by Justin and "independent' by Arrian. It was probably in contradistinction to the arāṣṭrakas or āraṭṭas that the name 'surāṣṭra' came into vogue. This name was adopted by the Vṛṣṇis and Andhakas settled in the region

86. *Arthaśāstra* IV, 9 p. 223 मुण्डनं इष्टिकाशकलेन प्रव्राजनं वा
87. V. A. Smith, 'Persian Influence on Maurya India', *Indian Antiquary* (1905) p. 201.
88. *Arthaśāstra* II, 35 p. 46.
89. *Pāṇini* IV, 3, 91 आयुधजीविभ्यश्छः पर्वते; *Ibid.* V, 3, 114 आयुधजीविसङ्घाञ्ञ्यड्वाहीकेष्वब्राह्मणराजन्यात्
90. *Mahābhārata* VIII, 44, 32-33 ; *Baudhāyana-Dharmasūtra* I, 1, 2, 13-15.
91. *Arthaśāstra* VII, 14 p. 307 उत्साहहीनश्रेणीप्रवीरपुरुषाणां चोरगणाटविकम्लेच्छजातीनां यथालाभमुपचयं कुर्वीत्

of modern Gujrat. Kauṭilya enumerates 'Surāṣṭra' among the guilds of warriors specializing in the profession of arms. Analogous to Surāṣṭra were the Kāmbhoja and Kṣatriya guilds. According to the *Mudrārākṣasa*, these two tribes joined the retinue of Candragupta and participated in the invasion of Magadha. Kauṭilya mentions the Mādrakas and Mallakas (Malloi) together with the Licchavis, Kukuras, Kurus and Pāñcālas as sanghas, whose members adopted the title of king and made capital out of it (rājaśabdopajīvīnaḥ)[92]. The drive of monarchist movements had reduced these tribes to a mercenary status, which was regarded inferior to that of a national militia. Hence Kauṭilya calls their chiefs distracted and disenchanted (*utsāha-hīna*).[93] Besidest hese oligarchies (coragaṇas) and guilds (śreṇis), a large number of exotic and foreign tribes had settled in the Panjab. We have noted the Yavana community of Nysa, the Naiśa janapada of Patañjali, and the Iranian sector of Takṣaśilā, where the custom of exposing the dead was prevalent, as instances of such settlements. Achaemeinan rule must have sprinkled a Persian element in the population of the North-West, which was remembered as Parśus by Pāṇini and must have familiarized the Indians with the Ionians and their script known as Yavanānī in his grammar.[94] Kauṭilya mentions these settlements of foreigners as mleccha-jātis and recommends the recruitment of royal armies from them. We learn from the *Mudrārākṣasa* that a big mleccha contingent of troops accompanied the army of Parvataka in the invasion of Magadha.[95] Thus the sources of army, enumerated by Kauṭilya, reflect the demographic conditions of the Panjab about the period of Alexander's invasion.

Kauṭilya was aware of the power and prowess of the warrior oligarchies of his time. Hence he prized the friendship of a saṁgha above all other acquisitions[96] But he realised

92. *Ibid.* XI 1 p. 376.
लिच्छिविकवृजिकमल्लकमद्रककुकुरकुरुपांचालादयो राजशब्दोपजीविनः ।

94. *Kātyāyana* on Pāṇini IV, 1, 49 for yavanāni, see Pāṇini V, 3, 117 पर्श्वादिगण

95. *Mudrārākṣasa* Act I p. 63 पर्वतकपुत्रेण मलयकेतुना सह संघाय तदुपगृहीतेन महता म्लेच्छराजबलेन परिवृतो ।

96. *Arthaśāstra* XI 1. p. 378 संघलाभो दण्डमित्रलाभानामुत्तमः

the weakness of their organization and advocated the growth of monarchist institution among them.[97] According to him, the best way of reducing a saṁgha is to sow dissension among its members through spies and envoys.[98] The oligarchs were susceptible of provocation on childish issues, such as dice, recreation, art etc.[99] They were instantly irritated by the praise of their inferiors in theatres and taverns.[100] Sometimes they were keyed up by the exhortation to claim equality of status with those at the hub of affairs in view of their birth, bravery, standing and avocation.[101] More often than not, they were addicts of wine and women and serious disputes broke out among them on the score of love.[102] Thus, inspite of bravery and chivalry, the saṁghas were an element of anarchy and instability in the Panjab. Because of their discord and distraction, invaders and conquerors had an easy access into the country. Hence their unification under a strong government was the paramount necessity of the time. Though the perpetually changing kaleidoscope of tiny states and principalities underlies the maṇḍala diplomacy, adumbrated in the *Arthaśāstra*, yet the conception of one sovereign authority between the northern mountains and the southern seas is envisaged in its totalitarian polity. The transition from tribal to national politics is writlarge on every page of this great work. A perusal of this work shows that most of the matter, incorporated in it, reflects the conditions and tendencies of pre-Maurya Panjab.[103]

97. *Ibid.* p. 381.
संघेष्वेवमेकराजो वर्तेत । संघाश्चाप्येवमेकराजाः तेभ्योऽतिसंधानेभ्यो रक्षयेयुः ।

98. *Ibid.* p. 378 सर्वेषामासन्नाः सत्रिणः संघानां परस्परन्यङ्गद्वेषवैरकलह थानान्युपलभ्य क्रमाभिनीतं भेदमपचारयेयुः ।

99. *Ibid.* एवमुभयतोबद्धरोषाणां विद्याशिल्पद्यूतवैहारिकेष्वाचार्यव्यञ्जना बालकलहानुत्पादयेयुः ।

100. *Ibid.* वेशशौण्डिकेषु वा प्रतिलोमप्रशंसाभिः संघमुख्यमनुष्याणां तीक्ष्णाः कलहानुत्पादयेयुः ।

101. *Ibid.* अवहीनान् वा तुल्यभावोपगमने कुलतः पौरुषतः स्थानविपर्यासतो वा व्यवहारमवस्थितं वा प्रतिलोमस्थापनेन निशामयेयुः ।

102. *Ibid.* p. 380.
जातकामानामन्यतमस्य प्रत्ययं कृत्वा अन्यत्रगमनेन प्रसभहरणेन वा कलहानुत्पादयेयुः

103. D. R. Bhandarkar, 'Date of Kauṭalya', *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* Vol VII parts I,II p. 73.

104. Buddha Prakash, Kauṭīliya Arthaśāstra (कौटिलीय अर्थशास्त्र) त्रिवेणी प्रकाशन इलाहाबाद ५९

The freedom movement and the rise of the Mauryas.

After the retreat of Alexander from the Panjab, this province was seething with a new sentiment, like that, which pervaded in Greece after the Persian invasion and in England after the invasion of the Danes. Many of the independent states, which were bent on maintaining their separate entities at all costs, lay derelict after the storm of the Macedonian invasion. All around there was a sincere realisation that a strong and unified government was the only guarantee of a stable peace and the only bulwark against the recurrence of such invasion. In the schools and seminars of Takṣaśilā this new ideology was gaining ground and giving birth to a new conception of political structure, the picture of which we get in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya. The new fashion of thinking in terms of the vast expanse of land between the Himalayas and the southern seas was accompanied by a feverish aversion of the foreigners and a strong desire to expel them from the country in the heart of the Indians. Plutarch has noted that the Brāhmaṇas were the spearhead of the new movement to overthrow the Greeks. He observed that, "the philosophers gave him no less trouble than the mercenaries, because they reviled the princes, who declared for him, and encouraged the free states to revolt from his authority."[2] From this remark of Plutarch it appears that besides the Brāhmaṇa movement, the communities of professional soldiers, which were thrown out of employment, as a result of the destruction of the small states, that were perpetually fighting with each other and to which these mercenaries and soldier communities were attached, were seeking career under the parvenu chiefs and were hurling their might against the Greek governors.

Thus the Panjab after the invasion of Alexander was a crucible, in which broken states, shattered institutions, displaced mercenaries, decrepit armies, infuriated Brāhmaṇas and parvenu adventurers were embroiled in a new ideological ferment, the keynote of which was the expulsion of the foreigners and

1. *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* X, 1 p. 340

देशः पृथ्वीः तस्यां हिमवत्समुद्रान्तरमुदीचीनं योजनसहस्रपरिमाणं चक्रवर्तिक्षेत्रम्

2. J. W. McCrindle, *The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great* p. 306.

the establishment of a unified state. Poros and his ally Candragupta took this occasion by the forelock and embarked on a vast imperial undertaking.

Alexander had roughly divided the Indian regions, traversed by him, into five main divisions. The northern division was put in the charge of Philip, the son of Machatas. Philip first appears as a resident at Takṣaśilā, but, after the revolt of the Aśvakas, reported to Alexander by Sisikottos (Śaśigupta) after the battle of the Hydaspes, he was appointed as the satrap in the lower Kabul valley as far as the passes over the Hindukush. He accompanied Alexander on his expedition down the Hydaspes (Jhelum) and was made satrap of a province extending as far south as the confluence of the Indus and the Acesines (Chenab). The second division was the satrapy of Pithon, the son of Agenor, covering Sind from the Indus confluence to the ocean and extending westward to the Hab. The third division was the realm of Poros, that had been extended from the Hydaspes (Jhelum) to the Hyphasis (Beas). The fourth division embraced the river system of the Indus including the Paropamisdae with Alexandria-under-the-Caucasus for its capital and was placed under Oxyartes. The fifth division had the king of Abhisāra for its chief and extended over the whole of the Kaśmīra valley.

No sooner has Alexander turned his back on India than revolts flared up against his officers. The people of Kandahar had rebelled under Samexus or Damaraxus and the Aśvakas had risen up and murdered Nicanor, while Alexander was within India. When he was wounded by the Mālavas and a rumour of his death became current, 3,000 Greek colonists, settled by him in the new city, founded by him in the East, left for home. His authority retreated with him everywhere like a shadow. While passing through Karmania, he heard the news of the assassination of Philip following the insurrection of the Greeks and the uprising of the people. Hence he ordered the commander of the Thracian regiment, named Eudamus, to take charge of the satrapy of the Indus and the Kabul valley. Likewise Greek rule in Sind vanished into thin air and its satrap Peithon was obliged to retire to the west of the Indus and assume charge of the regions bordering on the Paropamisadae. In the third division Poros proclaimed himself independent. Accord-

ing to McCrindle, he was responsible for the departure of Peithon from Sind. The king of Kaśmīra also followed suit and joined Poros, as we gather from the *Mudrārākṣasa*. The soul of the new movement was the young prince Candragupta, who hurled himself against the remnants of Greek rule. In the words of Justin, "India, after Alexander's death, as if the yoke of servitude had been shaken off from its neck, had put his prefects to death. Sandrocottos had been the leader, who achieved their freedom. When he was there, after preparing to attack Alexander's prefects, a wild elephant of monstrous size approached him and kneeling submissively like a tame elephant, received him on to its back and fought vigorously infront of the army."[3] As a result, the traces of Greek rule vanished in a trice and the army of Eudamus had to submit to Poros. In the *Mudrārākṣasa* an army of Mlecchas is said to have joined the forces of Parvataka and Candragupta in their march on Magadha. One Dingarāta is also stated to have figured in their retinue. This name is manifestly foreign and one is tempted to conjecture that it is a variant of the name of Eudamus, 'dimma' and 'dam' being phonetically similar and *rāta* being a suffix of foreign names, as we gather from the Jaina work *Aṅgavijjā*.[4]

After the liquidation of Greek influence in the North-West, Poros and Candragupta seem to have formed a coalition of the leading states and peoples of the Panjab for the invasion of Magadha. We have seen above that the flotsam and jetsam of the Iranian and Macedonian invasion, consisting of the Śaka, Yavana, Kirāta, Kāmboja, Pārasīka and Bāhlīka, followed in their train. The kings of Kulūta and Kaśmira (Abhisāra of Greek historians), the chief of Malaya (Malloi), the leader of the tribe of Kṣatra (Xathroi), the kings of the Sindhu region and the Persian commander with his cavalry joined their ranks.

3. K. P. Jayaswal found some numismatic parallels to these taditions about Candragupta. According to him, the punch-marked coins, depicting an elephant below crescented three-arched-hill, found at Taxila, are reminiscent of the story of Candragupta being carried by an elephant. Likewise, the coins showing a lion before crescented three-arched-hil, remind one of the story of Candragupta being licked by a lion, (*Journal of the Numismatic Society of India* Vol. XIX (1957) p. 179). These suggestions are mere guesses and since the chronology of the punch-marked coins is still in the melting pot, no stress can be laid on them. (*Ibid*. pp. 99-107, p. 180).

4. *Aṅgavijjā* ed. Muni Puṇyavijaya (Benaras) p. 156.

Thus the whole of the Panjab and the North-West seems to have swelled and swept the Magadhan empire of the Nandas. Starting from the frontier, invaders took province after province and at last occupied the capital at Pāṭaliputra. The local people, who groaned under the tyranny and exactions of the Nandas, appear to have hailed the invaders as deliverers. When the empire of the Nandas lay at the feet of the invaders and the question of dividing it equally between Candragupta and Poros, according to their agreement, arose, Cāṇakya encompassed the murder of Poros. We learn from Diodoros that Eudamus assassinated Poros.[5] Thus it is likely that Cāṇakya tipped Eudamus, who, as seen above, accompanied the invading armies to Pāṭaliputra, to murder Poros. But soon afterwards matters were composed and the rivals of Candragupta were won over. Parvataka's son Malayaketu was also reconciled and his ancestral kingdom of the Panjab was restored to him.[6] There is some evidence to suggest that Malayaketu is a historical figure. Diodoros informs us that an Indian general, named Keteus, was killed in the great battle of Gabiene between Eumenes and Antigonus in 316 B. C. His name "Keteus" corresponds to "Ketu", which was the nickname of Malayaketu, according to a punny verse of the *Mudrārākṣasa*.[8] It appears that sometime about 321 B. C., when Candragupta was coronated at Pāṭaliputra, Malayaketu or Keteus retired to the Panjab as an independent king together with the Thracian general Eudamus. The relations of Malayaketu and Eudamus remained good thereafter. Since Eudamus was a partisan of Eumenes, he was invited to join him at the battle of Gabiene in 317 B. C., and,

5. Diodoros XIX, 14.

6. *Mudrārākṣasa* Act 7 ed. Telang pp. 313-314.

राक्षसः—राजन् चन्द्रगुप्त, विदितमेव ते यथा वयं मलयकेतौ कंचित्काल-
मुषितास्तत्परिरक्ष्यन्तामस्य प्राणाः ।

चाणक्यः—प्रतिमानयितव्योऽमात्यराक्षसस्य प्रथमः प्रणयः भद्र, । अस्मद्व-
चनादुच्यन्तां भद्रभटप्रमुखा यथा अमात्यराक्षसेन विज्ञापितो
देवश्चन्द्रगुप्तः प्रयच्छति मलयकेतवे पित्र्यमेव विषयम् ।

7. J. W. McCrindle, *The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great* p. 369
K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *Age of the Nandas and Mauryas* p. 103.

8. *Mudrārākṣasa* I, 6 p. 57.

क्रूरग्रहः सकेतुश्चन्द्र सम्पूर्णमण्डलमिदानीम् ।
अभिभवितुमिच्छति बलात् रक्षत्येनं तु बुधयोगः ॥

because Keteus or Malayaketu was on good terms with Eudamus, he was also requested to help Eumenes. Thus Malayaketu fought at the battle-field of Gabiene in support of Eumenes against Antigonus. But he was killed in the battle and his younger wife became *sati* on his pyre. Eudamus also met his doom at the hands of Antigonus. After his death the whole of his kingdom in the Panjab seems to have been annexed to the Maurya empire.

We have seen that the semblance of Greek rule in the Panjab vanished with the retreat of Alexander. At the time of the second partition of his empire at Triparadeisos in 321 B. C., Antipater was avowedly unable to excercise any effective control over the Indian princes and the provinces to the east of the Indus were ignored in the partition.[9] Only the region to the west of the Indus acknowledged the nominal sway of the Greeks. Roxana's father Oxyartes continued to administer the Kabul valley or Paropamisdae in the vicinity of the region, that was entrusted to the Peithon. Sibyrtious ran the government of Arachosia and Gedrosia, Stassandros held charge of Asia and Drangiana and Stasanor managed the affairs of Bactria and Sogdiana. Many of these satraps and officers were embroiled in the internecine conflicts, which flared up among the claimants to the heritage of Alexander. Like Eudamus and his ally Keteus (Malayaketu), Peithon also tried to fish in troubled waters. As the former met his doom at the hands of Antigonus, the latter fell fighting by the side of Demetrius at the battle of Gaza. As regards the other officers, they were engulfed in the rolling tide of the advance of Seleucos.

Among the generals of Alexander, Seleucos and Antigonus struggled for the empire of the East. At first fortune favoured Antigonus and drove his rival into exile. But in 312 B. C. Seleucos recovered possession of Babylon and six years later assumed the title of king and called himself Nicator (conqueror) and in commemoration of his triumph started an era, which commenced from 312 B. C. He made an effort to resuscitate and reconstitute the empire of Asia and, marching through Gandhāra, crossed the Indus in 305 B. C. But the Panjab was not disjointed and divided at that time. It was welded into

9. Diodoros XVIII, 39.

the mighty structure of the Maurya empire about 317-316 B. C. Hence Candragupta, who had repaired to the Panjab at the news of the advance of Seleucos, marshalled more than half a a million men with 9,000 war-elephants and numerous chariots and gave a warlike reception to the invader. Seleucos was overwhelmed and worsted and had to conclude a humiliating peace with his victorious antagonist, in virtue of which he surrendered the satrapies of paropamisdae, Aria, Arachosia and Gedrosia to the latter. Thus the regions of Kabul, Herat, Kandahar and Makuran formed part of the Maurya empire, which in consequence extended up to the peaks of the Hindu Kush.[10]

The spead of the sway of the Mauryas in the North-West Frontier is attested by the discovery of 20 'northern black polished ware' shreds at Taxila, 1 at Udegram in the Swat valley and 12 at Charsada, ancient Puṣkalāvati. These are shreds of bowls or convex-shaped dishes, the like of which are found in the Gangetic Basin—Ahichatrā, Hastināpur, Kauśāmbī etc.—upto Gaur and Pāṇḍvā in Bengal and Amarāvati on the Krishna river in the South. Recently some fine shreds of this variety have been collected by an archaeological team of the Department of Ancient History of the Panjab University at Sugh near Jagadhari in the Ambala district of East Panjab. As Mortimer Wheeler has shown, the discovery of the 'northern black polished ware, over such a vast area is an evidence of the spread of Maurya empire over this extensive region. To quote his words, "it was due to the spread of Mauryan control from the Ganges to the Hindu Kush in and after 305 B.C[10a]".

It is also stated by some writers that Seleucos ratified the treaty by "a matrimonial alliance." Appian observes that "Seleucos entered into relation of marriage with him (Sandrocottos)"[11] and Strabo remarks that he gave the north-western provinces to Candragupta "in consequence of a marriage contract and received in turn 500 elephants."[12] But Justin and

10. The [illegible] of Strabo, Appian, Plutarch, Justin and Pliny, relevant to this subject, have been cited and discussed by V. A. Smith in *Appendix* G of his *Early History of India* pp. 140-142.

10a. Mortimer Wheeler, *Charsada : A Metropolis of the North-West Frontier* p. 35.

11. Appian, *Syriake* c 55.

12. Strabo, *Geography* translated by Hamilton and Falconer Vol. III.

Plutarch do not refer to this matrimonial alliance in their accounts of Seleucos. Besides this, we do not know if Candragupta had any daughter. Even if it is presumed, though without any evidence, that he had a daughter, it is quite unlikely that he married her to Seleucos and got in return from him the north-western provinces, for in that case the marriage would be of *āsura* kind, which is one of the unapproved forms of marriage in Hindu law. The convention of the vanquished marrying his daughter to the victor for seeking his assistance, recorded in the *Arthaśāstra*, also goes against such a supposition.[13]

It is also noteworthy that Seleucos had only two wives Apama and Stratonice. Hence the question of Candragupta marrying his daughter to him does not at all arise. The other probability is that it was Seleucos, who married his daughter to Candragupta. But we know for certain that Seleucos had only one daughter Phila, who was married to Antigonus Gonatas. Hence it is unlikely that he could marry any daughter to Candragupta. Thus there is no substance in the tradition of "matrimonial alliance" Bouché-Leclerque has suggested that the allusion to this alliance signifies only a convention of jus connubi that was established among the Greeks and Indians implying the admission of the former to the fold of the Kṣatriya caste.[14] Most probably this tradition of marriage was based on floating reports and rumours, similar to those, which gave birth to the story of the marriage of Cloephis with Alexander or that of the daughter of Candragupta with him.[15]

The reverse of Seleucos synchronised with the difficulties

13. *Arthaśāstra* VII, 14 उत्साहयितारमात्मनिसर्गेण स्थितकर्माणम् सान्त्व प्रणिपातेन अनुरक्तप्रकृतिं कन्यादानयापनाभ्यां लुब्धं अंशद्वैगुण्येन भीतमेभ्यः कोशदण्डानुग्रहेण स्वतो भीतं विश्वासयेत्

14. Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire des Seleucides* pp. 29-30 "On ne connaît à Seleucos d'autres femmes qu' Apama at Stratonice, ni d' autre fille que Phila, l'épouse d' Antigone Gonatas. On ne voit pas comment il aurait pu devenir ou le gendre ou le beaupére du roi hindou......Dans le systéme social de l'Inde le seul procédé pour reguliser de telles unions consistait à attribuer théoriquement aux Grécs une caste; et peut-être avons nous ici la forme Grécque de la tradition indigéne qui, comme nous le verrous tout-à-l' heure, reconnaît dans les compagnous d' Alexander one variété dégénéreé de Kṣatriya.

15. Buddha Prakash, 'Candragupta Maurya in the Shah Nama of Firdausi' *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* Vol XXXVII (1957) pp. 136-137.

of his associates, Cassander, Lysimachus and Ptolemy, in the west. Hence he requested his Indian ally to supply him 500 elephants for fighting with his adversaries. Candragupta was not the man to disappoint his ally for this ordinary matter. With this force Seleucos rushed to the west and met and defeated Antigonus at Ipsos in Phyrgia in 301 B. C.

B. Ch. Chhabra traces an echo of the war of Candragupta and Seleucos in chapters 100,101 of the Uttarakāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa. He holds that the account of war between the sons of Śailuṣa and Bharata and his sons Takṣa and Puṣkala, assisted by the Kekaya king Yudhājit, is based on the account of the war of Śeleucos and Candragupta.[15a] But this is highly conjectural since Śailuṣa in the Rāmāyaṇa means an actor, dancer or husband of a harlot.

This memorable feat of Indian arms and unity secured the Panjab from foreign invasions for well over a century under the aeges of the Mauryas.

10. *Under the aegis of the Mauryas.*

After the annexation of the Panjab to the Maurya empire, following the death of Poros' son Malayaketu at the battle of Gabiene in 316 B. C., and the defeat of Seleucos on the Indus in 305 B. C., this region came under the centralised bureaucratic administration of the Mauryas. Its various tribal and regional units, which were bent on maintaining their entities at all costs and defied all attempts at unification were included in the all embracing sway of the Mauryas. Thus the movement of political unity, initated by Pukkusāti, pursued by Poros and envisaged by Kauṭilya was completed by Candragupta. Invading hordes and armies did not disturb its peace for about a century and tribal rivalry and regional animosity did not trouble its people for even a longer period. Its Grand Trunk Road, instead, saw the processions of ambassadors bringing curious presents and messages of friendship. On it Megasthenes, the envoy of Seleucos, travelled to Pāṭaliputra to report its glory and greatness, Deimachos, the envoy of Antiochus, journeyed with a consignment of figs and raisin wine for Bindusāra, and

15a. B. Ch. Chhabra, 'War between Seleucos and Chandragupta in the Rāmāyaṇa,' *Woolner Commemoration Volume*. (Lahore 1940) pp. 51-52.

Dionysus drove with a message of friendship from Ptolemy Philadelphos for him or his son Aśoka. These envoys are symbolic of a vast body of foreigners, who visited India on diplomatic, commercial or cultural missions and for whose care, comfort and control the second board of the municipality of Pāṭaliputra functioned.[16] It was also along the highway of the Panjab that the envoys and missionaries of Aśoka carried the message of peace and friendship for the world. The maintenance of diplomatic contacts between the Seleucids and the Mauryas, expressed in the exchange of ambassadors between Antioch and Pāṭaliputra, has found an interesting reverberation in the remark of the *Mahābhārata* that Sahadeva brought Antioch (Antākhi) and Rome (Roma) under his influence by means of his envoys.[17]

We have observed that the Panjab and the North-West was administered by a centrally controlled bureaucracy. Its administrative headquarters was fixed at Takṣaśilā. The imperial administrators were sometimes headstrong and the freedom loving people of the Panjab could hardly put up with their oppression and insolence. Hence they unfurled the banner of revolt under Bindusāra. Takṣaśilā was the home of the rebellion. The king deputed his son Aśoka to reclaim the allegiance of the insurgent people. When Aśoka marched at the head of a huge army, the citizens of Takṣaśilā moved out of the city with pitchers full of water as a sign of submission and loyalty and informed the prince that they had risen not against the authority of King Bindusāra, but against the wicked officials, who insulted them. Then they accorded a warm welcome to the prince and brought him to the city with great pomp and festivity.[18] From Takṣaśilā, Aśoka started on an expedi-

16. J. W. McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian* p. 87.

17. *Mahābhārata* II, 28, 49.

अन्ताखीं चैव रोमाञ्च यवनानां पुरं तथा ।
दूतैरेव वशे चक्रे करं चैनानदापयत् ॥

18. *Divyāvadāna ed.* Cowell p. 372 अथ राज्ञो बिन्दुसारस्य तक्षशिला नाम नगरं विरुद्धं । तत्र राज्ञा बिन्दुसारेणाशोको विसर्जितः । गच्छ कुमार तक्षशिलानगरं सन्नाहय । चतुरंगं बलकायं दत्तं । यावत्कुमारश्चतुरंगं बलकायमादाय तक्षशिलां गतः श्रुत्वां तक्षशिलानिवासिनः पौरा अर्धतृतीयानि योजनानि मार्गं शोभां कृत्वा पूर्णघटमादाय प्रत्युद्गता प्रत्युद्गम्य च कथयन्ति च । वयं कुमारस्य

tion to conquer the land of the Khasas and annexed it to the Maurya empire. Aśoka's hold over Kandahāra is attested by the find of his bilingual Graecos—Aramean inscription on the old Kandahar Herat Road.[18a]

The Khasas occupied the hilly region in the south and west of Kaśmira. Their settlement from Kastawar in the south east to the Vitastā valley in the west is referred to in many passages of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. They held the hill states of Rajapuri and Lohara. Sir Aurel Stein has identified them with the present *Khakha* tribe, to which most of the petty chiefs in the Vitasta valley below Kaśmīra and in the neighbouring hills belong. The Gurkhas of Nepal are still known as Khasa (Khassa) and their language bears the name of Khas (Parbatiyā). According to Sylvain Lévi, the word *khasa* connotes semi-hinduised tribes of the Himalayan regions. But in Central Asia this word stood for the region between Dardistan and the frontiers of China. In the list of scripts, contained in the *Lalitavistara*, the writing of the Khasas, *Khasya* (Chinese *K'ia-sho* or *K'o-cha* or *Ko-so*) figuring between that of the Daradas (*To-lo*, Ta-lo-to, 'mountain on the confines of Wu-Ch'ang' that is to say Udyana) and that of China (*Souei*, name of the reigning dynasty of China at the time of the translation of this text) shows that the Khasas inhabited the region between the higher course of the Indus and the confines of China. The region of Kashghar was included in the Khasa country. Jñānagupta, who translated the biography of the Buddha between 589 and 618 A.D. under the name *Fo pen hing tsi king*, equates *K'o-cha* (Khasa) with *Shu-li* (Kashghar) In the age of the T'ang the equation of Khasa and Shu-li was uniformly admitted. Hiuen T'sang mentioned Kashghar under the current name of *Khasa* and stated that Shu-li was its name only in ancient times. In the *Annal of the T'ang Dynasty* Shu-li and K'ia-sha are interchangeably used. Besides Kashghar, Khotan was also deemed to be a part of the Khasa country. In the Tibetan version of the *Sūryagarbhasūtra* Khotan is stated to be lying in the Khasa

विरुद्धा नापि राज्ञो बिन्दुसारस्य अपितु दुष्टामात्या अस्माकं परिभवं कुर्वन्ति । महता च सत्कारेण तक्षशिलां प्रवेशितः । विस्तरेणाशोक खशराज्ये प्रवेशितः ।

18a. D. Schlumberger, L. Robert, A. Dupout-Sommer, E. Benveniste 'Une bilingue gréco-araméenne d' Asoka, *Journal Asiatique* (1958) pp. 1-48.

country (*Kha-sha'ī yul na sa'i muma'i gnas*).[19] It is significant that according to Buddhist traditions Khotan was ruled over by a branch of the Maurya dynasty. Hiuen T'sang reports that under Kuṇāla there was an exodus of his followers from Takṣaśilā, which resulted in the colonisation of Khotan[20]; and the Tibetan sources, translated by Rockhill in his "*Life of Buddha*", show that the Maurya line of Khotan assumed independence after Aśoka and Kuṇāla. Kuṇāla's successors were Vijayasambhava, Vijayavīrya, Vijayasingha and Vijayakīrti. That these names are not quite legendary is clear from the occurrence of the name Vijaya in the ruling dynasty of Khotan mentioned in the documents discovered by Sir Aurel Stein. In document no 661 there is a reference to Khotan's *Mahārāya Rāyātirāya Hinajha Avijidasimha*.[21] But it is doubtful if these rulers belonged to the Maurya dynasty. Some of them are brought into relationship with the Kuṣāṇas. As regards the use of the Kharoṣṭhi script and the north-western dialect of Prākrit there, it was also the result of Indo-Scythian influence and domination, as suggested by Sir Aurel Stein[22] and Sten Konow.[23] Thus it cannot be confidently asserted that the conquest of the Khasa country by Aśoka, referred to in the *Divyāvadāna*, signifies the colonisation of Khotan by the Mauryas mentioned in Buddhist traditions. This event stands for the subjugation of the hill country, bordering on Kaśmīra, which was populated by the Khasa people, by Aśoka. It is clear that the revolt of Takṣaśilā and the expedition of Aśoka resulted in the annexation of the hilly regions near Kaśmira to the province of the Panjab.

Towards the end of the reign of Bindusāra the people of Takṣaśila again revolted against the tyranny and exploitation of Maurya officials. The *Divyāvadāna* lets us know that on that occasion prince Susīma was commissioned to quell the revolt. But he failed to pacify the insurgents. Hence Aśoka

19. Sylvain Lévi, 'Notes Chinoises sur l' Inde IV, Le pays Kharoṣṭra et l' écriture Kharoṣṭri,' *Bulletin de l' ecole Francaise d'extrême Orient* (1904 Vol. IV pp. 556-557.

20. S. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*. Vol. I pp. 139-141.

21. Sir Aurel Stein, *Ancient Khotan* Vol. I p. 366.

22. Sir Aurel Stein, *Serindia* p. 143.

23. Sten Konow, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* Vol II, part I *Introduction* p. 76.

was again thought of. But in the meantime the emperor breathed his last and at his behest Aśoka was coronated for the time being.[24]

Aśoka also had to face the problem of the upheaval of the people of Takṣaśilā. He himself set out to pacify the people. But his ministers asked him to send prince Kuṇāla instead. On the arrival of Kuṇāla the citizens came out to accord him a hearty welcome. They complained of the highhandedness of the officers and assured the prince of their loyalty.[25] That the officers of the Mauryas often rode roughshod over the people is manifest from the Kalinga edicts of Aśoka. Addressing the senior officers (mahāmātras), in charge of Tosali, he says. "All men are my children and, just as I desire for my children that they may enjoy every kind of prosperity and happiness both in this world and in the next, so also I desire the same for all men, you, however, do not grasp this truth to its full extent. Some individual, perchance, pays heed, but to a part only, not the whole. See then to this...Ill performance of duty can never gain my regard....... The restraint or torture of the towns men may not take place without due cause. And for this purpose, in accordance with the law of piety, I shall send forth in rotation every five years such persons as are of mild and temperate disposition, and regardful of the sanctity of life...... From Ujjain, however, the prince for this purpose will send out a similar body of officials, and will not overpass three years. In the same way......from Taxila."[26]

According to the *Divyāvadāna*, it was at Takṣaśilā that the tragic episode of the blinding of Kuṇāla, due to the conspiracy

24. *Divyāvadāna*, ed. Cowell, p. 372. तक्षशिला च विरोधिता यावद्राज्ञा कुमारस्तक्षशिलामनुप्रेषितः । न च शक्यते सन्नामयितुं बिन्दुसारश्च राजा ग्लानिभूतः। तेन अभिहितं । सुसीमं कुमारं आनयथ राज्ये प्रतिष्ठापयिष्यामि तक्षशिलां प्रवेशयथ ।

25. *Ibid.* p. 407.

26. V. A. Smith, *Aśoka* (third edition) p. 194-96.

A. C. Woolner, *Aśoka; Text and Glossary* I p. 23 Separate Rock Edict I Jaugad version

अथ पजाये इछामि किंति मे सवेन हितसुखेन युजेव ति हिदलोगिक-पाललोकिकेन हेमेव मे इछ सवमुनिसेसु नो चु तुफे एतं पापुनाथ आवागमके इयं अठे केचा एकपुलिसे पि मनाति से पि देसं नो सवं... हेमेव तखसिलातेपि

of a wife of Aśoka, took-place.[27] But Jaina texts place this incident at Ujjayinī. These three revolts of the people of Takṣaśilā against the tyranny of Maurya officials show that these people were too deeply rooted in the traditions of independence to brook the supercilious conduct of officers.

After the passing away of Aśoka in 236 B. C., 321 B. C. being the date of the accession of Candragupta, the Maurya empire began to disintegrate. His successor Samprati, ruled over a shrunken empire in the east. It is likely that the north-western half of the empire broke off after the death of Aśoka. This region had revolted thrice in the hey-day of the Maurya empire due to the tyranny of the officers, as we have seen. After the removal of the strong hand of Aśoka from the administration, its people found a convenient opportunity to overthrow the regime of Maurya officers. We learn from Polybius that a king, named Sophagsenus, ruled in north-western India at the time of Antiochus the Great. This king was of considerable importance and standing, as is manifest from the fact that Antiochus renewed his traditional friendship with him and courted him on terms of equality. Polybius states;

"He (Antiochus the Great) crossed the Caucasus and descended into India, renewed his friendship with Sophagsenus, the king of the Indians; received more elephants, until he had 150 altogether, and, having once more provisioned his troops, set out again personally with his army, leaving Androsthenes of Cyzicus the duty of taking home the treasure, which this king had agreed to hand over to him."[31]

We know that Antiochus had marched to the east to suppress the nascent power of the Bactrian Greeks. About 256 B. C. Diodotus had revolted from the Seleucid authority. About 248 B. C. his son Diodotus II succeeded him. Both these rulers, however, issued coins with the name of Antiochus. About 235 B. C. Diodotus II met his end at the hands of Euthydemus I. Polybius observes that "after others had revolted, Enthydemus possessed himself of the" throne of Bactria by destroying their descendants"[32] Enthydemus strengthened his hold over Bactria and ruled as a powerful sovereign.

27. *Divyāvadāna* p. 407.
31. H. C. Raychoudhury, *Political History of Ancient India* 5th ed. p.361.
32. *Polybius* XI, 39.

In 208 B. C. Antiochus III moved against the Parthians and after receiving their submission advanced to reclaim the allegiance of Bactria. He took the high-road to Bactria, crossed the river Arius (Harirud) at night, as Alexander did at Hydaspes, and inflicted a defeat on Euthydemus, who retired to his capital Zariaspa (Bactra). Antiochus laid siege to the capital that lasted for two years. In course of this prolonged conflict, the Seleucid monarch banked on his old friendship with the Maurya potentate Sophagsenus or Subhāgasena & derived much benefit from his assistance. In the meantime the pressure of the nomads of Central Asia became unbearable to Euthydemus and compelled him to come to a compromise with Antiochus through the good offices of Teleas. As a result of the settlement, the Seleucid retired to his realm and promised to marry his daughter to Euthydemus' son Demetrius. Tarn holds that the fact that the first overtures towards peace came from him and he surrendered his elephants shows that he acknowledged Seleucid suzerainty, though it soon became a dead letter.[33] After this encunter with Euthydemus, Antiochus crossed the Hindukush, renewed his friendship with Subhāgasena, received more elephants from him and, passing through Arachosia and Drangiana, reached Carmania and the western shore of the Persian Gulf. The expression "renewed his friendship," employed by Polybius, indicates that Antiochus was already on friendly terms with Subhāgasena. As suggested above, he sought the assistance of the Maurya ruler during the war with Euthydemus and, at the conclusion of hostilities with him, cemented his alliance with this ruler by paying a visit to his kingdom. "Subhāgasena also engaged in this league as a protection from Euthydemus, whose power had already manifested itself to the south of the Caucasus", as remarked by Lassen.[34]

Subhāgasena was probably a the successor of Vīrasena, who came to the throne after Aśoka, according to Tāranātha,[35]

33. W. W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India* p. 82.

34. C. Lassen, 'Points in the History of the Greek and Indo-Scythian Kings in Bactria, Kabul and India as illustrated by deciphering the Ancient Legends on their Coins' translated by Dr. Roer in *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (1840) p. 671.

35. A. Schiefner, *Geschichte des Buddhismns in Indien* pp. 50-52.

as suggested by F. W. Thomas and others.[36] It appears that after the secession of the north-western part of India from the Maurya empire after the death of Aśoka, Vīrasena entrenched his hold over it. It is not unlikely that Virasena belonged to the Maurya family, as indicated by Tāranātha. This ruler maintained the old contacts and alliances with the Seleucids and preserved the integrity of the north-western marches by staving off a raid of the Mlecchas that is mentioned in the Rājatarangiṇī of Kalhaṇa.[37] It is likely that these Mlecc has represented or included the Bactrian Greeks, who had set up an independent kingdom in Bactria, by throwing off the Seleucid yoke about the middle of the third century B. C. The reference to a wide-spread assault of the Mlecchas (mlecchāśchāditamaṇḍalāḥ) in the *Rājatar aṅgiṇī* becomes intelligible only in the context of the expansion of the Bactrian Greeks.[38] No other power is known to have existed or raised its head in that age so as to justify the remark of Kalhaṇa. After coping successfully with this menace Vīrasena bequeathed a strong and prosperous kingdom to his successor Subhāgasena, who played a momentous part in the events of the war of the Seleucids and the Bactrians, as seen above. Kalhaṇa refers to a successor of Aśoka, named Jalauka, in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. According to this historian, Aśoka covered Śuṣkaletra and Vitastārta with numerous *stūpas*. He constructed a big *caitya*, the height of which could not be reached by the eye, in the precincts of the Dharmāraṇya Vihāra at Vitastātra. He also founded and built the town of Śrīnagarī and replaced the old stuccoed enclosure of the shrine of Vijayeśvara by a new one of stone. Within the enclosure he built two more temples called Aśokeśvara.[39] These references show that Aśoka exercised full sway over Kaśmira. The name of his successor in Kaśmira is given as Jalauka and he is credited with the suppression and defeat of the Mlecchas. There

36. V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*. p. 236, F. W. Thomas *Cambridge History of India I* p. 512, K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Age of the Nandas and Mauryas* p. 246.

37. *Rājatarangiṇī* I 107-8. स रुद्धवसुधान्म्लेच्छान् निर्वास्याखर्वविक्रमः । जिगाय जैत्रयात्राभिर्महीमर्णवमेखलाम्। ।

38. R. K. Mookerji, *Age of the Imperial Unity* p. 90.

39. *Rājataraṅgiṇī* I, 102-106; Watters, *On Yuan Chwang* I p. 267-71.

seems to be some confusion in the traditions relating to Jalauka. We learn from the *Mahāvaṁsa* of Moggallāna that one of the ten sons of Kālāśoka bore the name Jalika.[40] There is often a great deal of confusion between this Kālāśoka and Dharmāśoka. The former is identical with Kākavarṇa or Mahānandin, as I have shown elsewhere[41], and the latter is the celebrated Maurya monarch noted for his piety and righteousness. One is apt to suspect that the tradition of Aśoka's son Jalauka, recorded by Kalhaṇa, is based on the genealogical notice of the Pāli chronicles of Ceylon about Jalika being a son of Kālāśoka. Anyway it is certain that the hold of the successors of Aśoka over Kaśmīra remained intact. His successor, whether Jalauka or somebody else, took part in the expulsion of the Mleccha invaders or insurgents and is stated to have conquered up to Kānyakubja in the middle-country.[42] This ruler is credited with the rehabilitation of the *Varṇāśramadharma* and removing the effects of the propagation of Buddhism under Aśoka. His preceptor is also known to have defeated an assembly of puffed up Buddhist debaters. One of his significant achievements was the inauguration of the constitutional system of Yudhiṣṭhira consisting of the 18 departments of state. His successor is stated to have been one Dāmodara. In the words of Kalhaṇa "highly resplendent with material resources was the king, who was the crest-jewel of the Śaiva worshippers and one hears of his spiritual powers even to this day as a marvel of this world."

Kalhaṇa stops his narrative with Dāmodara and takes up the thread with the advent of the Kuṣāṇas. Evidently the kingdom of Kaśmīra was engulfed in the empire of north-western India presided over by Vīrasena and Subhāgasena. These two monarchs dominated over the north-western regions including the Panjab for well over a quarter of a century

40. G. P. Malalasekera, *Extended Mahāvaṁsa* V, 14-15 p. 55-56.

सब्बजहो च जालिको संजयो च उभको तथा ।
कौरव्यो चैव नन्दी च मण्डनो चापि दसमो ।

41. Buddha Prakash, 'Candragupta Maurya in the Shāh-Nāmā of Firdausi' *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute* (Poona) Vol. XXXVII (1957) p. 124.

Rājataraṅgiṇi I, 117.

जित्वोर्वीं कान्यकुब्जादौ तत्रत्यं स न्यवेशयत् ।
चातुर्वर्ण्यं निजे देशे धर्म्यांश्च व्यवहारिणः ॥

acting as a bulwark against Greek invaders and native rebellions. No coins of these monarchs have come to light. Probably they issued some punch-marked coins, which cannot now be identified. But the coins, bearing the legends *Negama*, *Paṁcanekame* and *Hirañasama*, discovered at Takṣaśilā, and many other uninscribed copper-coins, which were struck before the advent of the Indo-Greeks, may be attributed to this period.[42]

After the return of Antiochus and his entanglement with a war with Macedonia, in which be suffered a severe reverse, the Bactrian Greeks began to expand their realm and encroach on the Indian provinces of the North-West. With their movement towards India the chapter of the native imperial drives in the Panjab and the North-West comes to a close. Hence forth foreign powers dominate there and contribute their mite to its social fermentation.

42. G. Allan, *British Museüm Catalogue, Ancient India*, p. XXXXIX, Marshall, *Taxila* II, 855.

CHAPTER VI

THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION IN ANCIENT PANJAB

1. *Main trends of social growth and cultural development*

We have surveyed the political vicissitudes and social developments, which characterised the history of the Panjab up to the fall of the Mauryas. In this long period numerous streams of nomadic invasions and tribal movements merged and mingled in the confluence of the Panjab. Almost all the main trends of the history of Iran and Central Asia had an abiding bearing on the formation of its social complex. In the dawn of history the Aryan tribes infiltrated into this region in successive waves and mixed with the Mediterranean (Drāviḍa), Austroloid (Niṣāda) and Mongoloid (Kirāta) peoples, which were embroiled in a process of miscegenation and unification. The early immigrants invariably became one with the indigenous people and offered stiff resistance to fresh incomers. In this turmoil of wars, invasions and admixtures various social and cultural elements met, mixed & merged in an amalgam. Hence the social set-up of this region was like that of a glacis, crucible, confluence or kaleidoscope. Exotic tribes, having outlandish customs and heterogenous cultures, perpetually changed the patterns of life of this region. Therefore, we witness the progressive unfolding of a dynamic social revolution in the ancient history of this land.

As seen above, the Aryans at first settled in the Panjab and regarded it as the home of purity and sanctity. The janapadas of the Vedic age were the seats of learning, religion and culture. Eminent seers sang the chants of the Vedas, great teachers taught the sacred lore, renowned thinkers expounded the philosophy of that age, famous priests practised the ritual and sacrifices and the kings and the people lived according to the high ideals characteristic of Ārya culture. Thus the land of Seven Rivers, *Sapta-Sindhu*, comprising the realms of the Kekayas, Madras and Uśinaras, was illumined by the holy fires of *yajña* and *homa*, which were incessantly fed in the āśramas

of the ṛṣis, the huts of the householders and the chambers of the nobles. The Vedas and Upaniṣads are full of adulation and adoration of this land. In the Bhāllavī gāthā, cited in the Dharmasūtras of Vaśiṣṭha and Baudhāyana, the Sindhu is described as the western boundary of the holyland, which extends to the region of sunrise in the east and where the black gazelles graze.

In course of time the Aryans of the Panjab mixed with the aboriginal people, called Dasyus and Dāsas, and adopted much of their culture. We have seen that the evolution of the sociology of *Varṇāśramadharma* and the resultant crystallisation of the four castes and stages of life were animated by unaryan influences. We have also observed that the transformations of literature and religion, which marked the development of the Vedas, were inspired by the amalgamation of Ārya and Dāsa elements in the Panjab. With the passage of time this region became the scene of a social and cultural hotch-potch, to which the incessant streams of foreign intruders provided its formative elements. The orthodox people gradually shifted to the Middle Country in the basins of the Sarasvatī and the Gaṅgā in course of the migration of the Āryas towards the East, which is symbolised in the tradition of the movements of Māthava with the aid of the Fire-God.[2] Thus the centre of purity and sanctity moved towards the Middle Country from the land of the Five Rivers. This change of outlook is manifest from the abhorrence of some north-western peoples in some sections of Vedic literature. In a significant passage of the *Atharvaveda* the Gandhāris and Mūjavants are classed with the Aṅgas and the Magadhas or the Kāśis and Mayas and the calamity of fever (*takman*) is consigned to them.[3] The Gandhāris

1. *Vāśiṣṭha Dharmasūtra* I, 13-15 (translated by G. Bühler in *Sacred Books of the East* Vol. XIV p. 3-47, *Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra* 1, 2, 11; I, 1, 2, 11—12 (SBE. Vol. XIV p. 147)
Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index* Vol II p. 126 F.N. 7.

2. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* I, 4, 1, 10, 14,-17;
Hermann Oldenberg, *Buddha* pp. 398-99.

3. *Atharvaveda* V, 22, 14

गन्धारिभ्यो मूजवद्भ्योऽङ्गेभ्यो मगधेभ्यः ।
प्रैष्यञ्जनमिव शेवधिं तक्मानं परिदद्मसि ॥

In the Paippalāda recension the reading is काशिभ्यो मयेभ्यः instead of अङ्गेभ्यो मगधेभ्यः

are manifestly the people of Gandhāra and the Mūjavants probably represent the ancestors of the modern Munjānī tribes of the north-western frontier regions. The wish to drive away fever among these peoples could have been entertained only by the people, who treated them with contempt and had moved away from their regions. At that time the eastern peoples of Kaśī or Aṅga were also not completely Aryanised. Hence they were also considered fit to be visited by a malady like fever. This mentality must have evolved among the orthodox people residing in the sedate valley of the Sarasvatī, Yamunā and Gangā.

In the Sūtra period, which roughly corresponds to the first half of the first millenium B. C., there were repeated intrusions of exotic tribes in the Panjab. We have seen that a group of Scytho-Iranian peoples swooped down and advanced up to the confines of Kurukṣetra in the opening centuries of the first millenium B. C. and brought about the fall of the Kurus in the famous Mahābhārata Battle. In the same period the Jartas and Ābhīras spread in the Panjab and caused a degeneration in the morals and manners of its people. On the eve of the foundation of the Achaemenid empire a large number of Bactrian tribes immigrated in the Panjab and mingled with aboriginal elements and produced such composite peoples as the Udumbaras. During the Achaemenid period the Iranians also became prominent there and in their wake the Ionians established many settlements in this region. These intrusions, mixtures and contacts of heterogenous tribal elements resulted in the formation of variegated social groups, most of which were politically independent and developed oligarchical and collectivist constitutions based on the predominance of the military *milieu*. Hence the purity and orthodoxy of manners of the people of the Panjab, which was the hall-mark of the Vedic period, was progressively lost. The people, adhering to old customs and traditions and preserving the ancient order and culture, clung to the Middle Country. In a frantic effort to safeguard and perpetuate the morals and manners of ancient times they had to codify their cultural standards in a series of law-books. The reaction of the revolution in social ideals, brought about by the intrusion of exotic elements, was the formation of a hide-bound orthodox social order that was adumbrated in the Dharmasūtras in the Middle Country. The people,

whose ways and manners are canonised in these Sūtras, looked upon the Panjab as a land of sin, sacrilege and impurity. The lawgiver Baudhāyana, who seems to have flourished before the time of Aśoka, since he describes Kalinga as a country devoid of Brāhmaṇa culture, whereas Aśoka notes the presence of the Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas there, lays an embarge on visiting the Panjab. He calls the people of Sindhu-Sauvīra *saṅkīrṇayoni* or of mixed origin and prohibits the people from going to their country. In case they felt compelled to go to the countries of the Āraṭṭas, Kāraskaras etc. they were enjoined to perform a special purificatory rite called Punastoma or Sarva-priṣṭhāiṣṭi.[4] Baudhāyana lists the traits, which brought the people of the North into disrepute, as *ūrṇāvikraya* (wool trade), *śidhūpāna* (wine drinking) *ubhayatodadbhirvyavahāra* (selling of animals that have teeth in the upper and lower jaws), *āyudhīyaka* (guilds of mercenary soldiers) and *samudrayāna* (sea-voyages.)[5] It is noteworthy that some of the traits, noted by Baudhāyana, are mentioned in Vedic literature in a vein of eulogy. In *Ṛgveda* X, 75 (*nadistuti*) Sindhu is pointedly called *ūrṇāvatī* (abounding in wool).[6] Sāyaṇa takes *ūrṇāvatī* as an epithet of Sindhu. His view is preferable to that of Griffith, who treats *Ūrṇāvatī* as the name of a river, for we have no river-name corresponding to this word. Thus a trait, which was at one time highly agreeable, was looked down upon in a region and climate, in which woollen garments were unnecessary. Likewise the Vedic people were familiar with sea-voyages. Perhaps the navigation in the rivers of the Panjab was the basis of their conception of sea-voyages. We know that

4. *Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra* I, 1, 2, 13; G. Bühler, *The Sacred Laws of the Āryas as taught in the Schools of Āpastamba, Gautama, Vaśiṣṭha and Baudhāyana* part II (*Sacred Books of the East* Vol. XIV p. 148) The inhabitants of Avanti, of Aṅga, of Magadha, of Surāṣṭra, of the Dekkan, of Upāvṛit, of Sindh, and the Sauvīras are of mixed origin."

"He who has visited the (countries of the) Āraṭṭas, Kāraskaras, Puṇḍras, Sauvīras, Vaṅgas, Kaliṅgas or Prāṇuṇas shall offer a Punastoma or a Sarva-priṣṭhā-iṣṭi."

5. *Ibid*. I, 1, 2, 4, G. Bühler *Op-cit*. p. 146 "Now (the customs peculiar) to the North are, to deal in wool, to drink rum, to sell animals, that have teeth in the upper and in the lower jaws, to follow the trade of arms, to go by sea."

6. *Ṛgveda* X, 75, 4.

स्वश्वा सिन्धुः सुरथा सुवासा हिरण्ययी सुकृता वाजिनीवती ।
उर्णावती युवतिः सीलमावत्युताधिवस्ते सुभगा मधुवृधम् ॥

7. *Pāṇinisūtra* IV, 4, 118.

Darius commissioned the Ionian Scylax to sail down the Indus and explore the oceanic routes. Later on Alexander also sailed down the Indus in a magnificent fleet. The northern writer Pāṇini, who flourished in this epoch, was conversant with all the techniques of navigation in rivers like the Sindhu and in the ocean (*samudra*). He has mentioned the boats (*nau*)[8], water-vehicles (*udakavāhana*),[9] rafts of inflated skins (*bhastrā*)[10], floats dug out from the hollows of trees (*utsanga*)[11], small boats shaped like the crescent (*uḍupa*), long fishing boats (*utpata*), basket-like coracles made of weeds and leather (*piṭaka*) and floats of wooden logs (*bharaṭa*). He has also referred to oars (*aritra*)[12], boatmen (*nāvika*)[13] and ferries (*navya*).[14] In his time the wealth of merchants was computed by the number of ship-loads of merchandise e,g, a merchant having two cargo boats (*dvināva-dhana*).[15] A merchant, sailing with five shiploads, was called *pañcanāva-priya*. Thus it is clear that water transport was a principal mode of travel and commerce in the Panjab. It is no wonder that the Vedic poet described the omnipotent and omniscient god Varuṇa as knowing the routes of boats and ships of the seas.[16] But in the land-locked territory of the Gangetic valley this way of transport had no peculiar importance. Hence a writer of this region could sneer at the risky practice of plying in the waters and treat it with contempt and disrespect.

The third custom of the northern people detested by Baudhāyana is rum drinking (*śidhupāna*). In the *Mahābhārata* also the Madras are castigated for drinking *śidhu*.[16a] Kātyāyana

8. *Ibid*. V, 4, 99.
9. *Ibid*. VI, 3, 58.
10. *Ibid*. IV, 4, 16.
11. *Ibid*. IV, 4, 15.
12. *Ibid*. III, 2, 184.
13. *Ibid*. IV, 4, 7.
14. *Ibid*. IV, 4, 9.
14. *Ibid*. IV, 4, 9.
15 *Kāśikā* on V, 4, 99.
16. *Ṛgveda* I, 25,
वेदा यो वीनां पदमन्तरिक्षेण पतताम् । वेद नावः समुद्रियः ॥
16 a. *Mahābhārata* VIII, 40, 27
येषां गृहेष्वशिष्टानां सक्तुमत्स्याशिनां तथा ।
पीत्वा सीधु सगोमांसं क्रन्दन्ति च हसन्ति च ॥

refers to śīdhū in a vārttika on Pāṇini-sūtra II, 2, 8, Pāṇini himself mentions *madya*, *surā*, *maireya* and *kāpiśāyana* as the favourite drinks of his time.[17] He has special words for distillery (*āsuti*), drinking booth (*śuṇḍika*) and vintner (*śauṇḍika*).[18] In the *Sabhāparvan* of the *Mahābhārata* Śauṇḍika is the name of a tribe of the Panjab.[19] The modern *Sondhis* and *Sondhas* among the Khatris of the Panjab appear to be the descendants of these ancient Śauṇḍikas. It seems that the profession of distilling and selling wine was so common in ancient Panjab that the people, belonging to it, were grouped in a distinct caste. In the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya also, which is a product of the Panjab, there is a provision of a special officer in charge of drinks (*surādhyakṣa*)[20]. In the chapter, specifying his functions, six varieties of liquors, *medaka*, *prasannā*, *āsava*, *ariṣṭa*, *maireya* and *madhu*, are mentioned. Maireya was a decoction of meṣaśringī bark and jaggery (*guḍa*), long pepper (*pippali*), black pepper (*marica*) and the powder of *triphalā*.[21] It was called *guḍa-maireya*. But the drink, in which *guda* was replaced by *madhu*, was known as *madhu-maireya*, These varieties of wine are mentioned in the *Kāśikā* on *Pāṇinī-sūtra* VI, 2, 70, *aṅgāni maireye*.[22] *Madhu* is a term for grape-juice. The decoction of the green grapes of Kāpiśī in northern Afghanistan was called *kāpiśāyana* and the product of the black raisins of Harahvaiti in southern Afghanistan was termed as *hārahūraka*.[23] It is

17. *Pāṇinisūtra* III, 1, 100; II, 4, 25; VI, 2, 70; IV, 2; 29
18. *Ibid.* V, 2, 112; IV, 3, 76
19. *Mahābhārata* II 48, 15

शौण्डिकाः कुक्कुराश्चैव शकाश्चैव विशाम्पते ।
अंगा वंगाश्च पुण्ड्राश्च शाणवत्या गयास्तथा ॥

20. *Arthaśāstra* II, 25 ed. R. Shāmshastri p. 120.
21. *Ibid.* मेषशृङ्गीत्वक्क्वाथाभिषुतो गुडप्रतिवापः पिप्पलीमरिचसम्भारः त्रिफलायुक्तो वा मैरेयः ।

22. *Kāśikā* on Pāṇini VI, 2, 70 गुडमैरेयः मधुमैरेयः । मद्यविशेषो मैरेयस्तस्य गुडविकारस्य गुडोऽङ्गं भवति मधुनो मधु ।

In the *Mahābhārata* VIII, 44, 11 the Madras of the Panjab are said to be addicted to jaggery wine (*gauḍyāsava*)

धानागौड्यासवं पीत्वा गोमांसं लशुनैः सह ।
अपूपमांसवाट्यानामशिनः शीलवर्जिताः ॥

23. *Arthaśāstra* II, 25 p. 120.

मद्वीकारसो मधु । तस्य स्वदेशो व्याख्यानं कापिशायनं हारहूरकमिति

significant that at Begram a *motif*, relating to the manufacture of wine, was widely prevalent. On a piece of ceramic we find the design of a jar, encased in two branches of vine, from the ends of which bunches of grapes hang and on which two birds are perched. From the mouth of the jar emerges a shaft surmounted by a conical filtering basket, which the Romans called *colum*.[24] Another plaster medallion depicts the leaves and bunches of grapes forming a design of symmetrical arches.[25] These finds show that Begram was the home of grapes and the centre of the manufacture of its wine in ancient times. It is likely that the wine of Begram (Kāpiśi) was exported and stored in large quantities in that period. Recently a Russian archaeological mission, led by M. E. Masson, has discovered a large wine cellar in the remains of the Parthian capital at Nisa, eleven miles north-west of Ashkabad, the modern capital of Turkmenia. In that wine cellar nearly 2,00,000 litres of wine were once kept in clay pitchers. The writings in ink on pieces of broken pitchers have revealed that they were mainly connected with the delivery of wine to the big slave-owning palace and temple of Nisa.[26]

Kālidāsa has referred to the drinking of *madhu* by the soldiers of Raghu in course of his northern expedition against the Persians.[27] This *madhu* was the grape-wine mentioned by Kauṭilya. In the light of this information it looks likely that the epithet *madhuvṛdham*, used for Sindhu in the *nadīstutī* of the *Ṛgveda*, refers to the richness of wines of these regions.

Though wine was a common drink among almost every people of ancient times, the Iranians had developed a special proclivity for it. We learn from Herodotus (VII, 27) that the couch of Darius was overshadowed by a golden vine presented by the Lydian Pythius. According to the Persepolis

24. R. Ghirshman, *Bégram, recherches archéologiques et historiques sur les Kouchans* pp. 69-70 Plate XIX.

25. J. Hackin, *Nouvelles recherches archéologiques en Begram* Vol. I p. 143; Vol. II Fig. 281.

26. M. E. Masson, 'New Light on an Ancient Civilization' *Soviet Union* (Dec. 1954) pp. 28.

27. *Raghuvaṃśa* IV, 65

विनयन्ते स्म तद्योधा मधुभिर्विजयश्रमम् ।
आस्तीर्णाजिनरत्नासु द्राक्षावलयभूमिषु ॥

inscription, 50 congius (six pints) of special wine and 5,000 congius of ordinary wine were daily delivered to the royal house. The younger Cyrus was in the habit of sending half-emptied flagons of wine to some of his friends in token of his intimacy, as Xenophon records.[28] Herodotus states that it was the custom of the Iranians to discuss important affairs in a state of intoxication and on the following morning their decisions was put before them by the master of the house, where the deliberations were held. We learn from Strabo also that the Persians deliberated over important matters while drinking. The *Shāh-nāmā* of Firdausi shows the Persians deliberating during drinking bouts. Besides the Persians, the tribes, affiliated to them, were known for their propensity for wine. The sixth century Byzantine historian Procopius notes that the Massagetae were the most intemperate drinkers.[29] The Sakas were also notorious drinkers. It is said that Cyrus defeated the Sakas, when they were maddened by wine. We learn from the *Kin-lou-tse* of Yuan (552-555 A. D.) of the Leang dynasty that the people in the country of the great Yue-che were clever in making wine from grapes, flowers and leaves. The Sogdians are also said to be fond of wine and of songs and dances. In *Kang* (Sogdiana) and *Shi* (Tashkand) wine was a favourite beverage. Likewise the people of Kuca are credited with a knowledge of grape-wine and songs and dances. From the Iranian world the vogue of grape wine spread in China. Chang K'ien is said to have popularised it in China in the second century B. C. Berthold Laufer has shown that the Chinese word for this article *p'u-t'ao* (bu-daw) and its analogue in Japanese *budo* are derived from the Persian word *bāda*, which is synonymous with Avestan *madhav*, Sanskrit *madhu* and modern Persian *mai*.[30]

As a result of the influence of the Sakas, the vogue of excessive drinking spread among many sedentary peoples. Strabo speaks of a Bacchanalian festival of the Persians, in which men and women, dressed in Scythian style, passed day and night in drinking and wanton play.[31] In the Panjab also men drank

28. Xenophon, *Anabasis* I, IX, 25.

29. Procopius, *Historikon* III, XII, 8.

30. Berthold Laufer, *Sino-Iranica* p. 225. All relevant references are given in the article on grape-wine contained in this book.

31. Strabo, *Geography* XV, III, 20.

hard in the company of women, who danced, sang and threw off their clothes and clasped men indiscriminately for sexual intercourse. These drinking bouts, in which chastity and restraint were thrown to the winds and promiscuous intercourse reigned supreme, are described in detail in the *Mahābhārata*.[32] The aforesaid resemblances between these descriptions of the drinking bouts of the Panjab, given in the *Mahābhārata*, and the accounts of the drinking bouts of the Iranians and the Sakas, penned by the Greek writers, leave no room for doubt that it was the Scythians and the Iranians, who popularised their vogue in the Panjab. Naturally, therefore, the people of the Gangetic country, sticking to their pristine ideals of moderation, were aghast at the prevalence of the exotic practice of drinking bouts of men and women in the Panjab, which was the symbol of Saka and Persian influence and a sign of their overarching supremacy over the social set-up of that province. Not only Baudhāyana in his Dharmasūtra and Karṇa in the *Mahābhārata*, but also Buddha in his discourses denounced it and laid down a prohibition against it.

Beside the wine, fermented from jaggery, the people of the Panjab are said to be in the habit of eating garlic (*laśuna*). It is notworthy that chive, onion and shallot were regarded in China as the products of Central Asia. Li Si-chen states that the people of the Han dynasty obtained the *hu-swan* (garlic of hu) from Central Asia. T'ao Hung-king (451-536 A. D.)

32. *Mahābhārata* VIII, 40, 25-28.

पिता पुत्रश्च माता च श्वश्रूश्वसुरमातुलाः ।
जामाता दुहिता भ्राता नप्तान्ये ते च बान्धवाः ।
वयस्याभ्यागताश्चान्ये दासीदासं च संगतम् ।
पुम्भिर्विमिश्रा नार्यश्च ज्ञाताज्ञाताः स्वयेच्छया ॥
येषां गृहेष्वशिष्टानां सक्तुमत्स्याशिनां तथा ।
पीत्वा सीधु सगोमांसं क्रन्दन्ति च हसन्ति च ॥
गायन्ति चाप्यबद्धानि प्रवर्तन्ते च कामतः ।
कामप्रलापिनोऽन्योऽन्यं तेषु धर्मः कथं भवेत् ॥

Another scene of a drinking bout of men and women is described in VIII, 44, 12, 13.

गायन्त्यथ च नृत्यन्ति स्त्रियो मत्ता विवाससः ।
नगरागारवप्रेषु बहिर्माल्यानुलेपनाः ॥
मत्तावगीतैर्विविधैः खरोष्ट्रनिनदोपमैः ।
अनावृत्ता मैथुने ताः कामचाराश्च सर्वशः ॥

is the first Chinese writer to refer to this article. In the *Brahmajālasūtta*, translated by Kumārajīva into Chinese, *hu swan* is the first among the five vegetables of strong odour tabooed for the Buddhist monks.[33] In a remarkable passage of the medical treatise *Aṣṭāngahṛdaya*, composed by Vāgbhaṭṭa, the Śaka women are said to owe their beauty to the consumption of onions.[33a] This shows that the people of the Middle Country disliked the use of onions and garlic, which appear to have been introduced in the Panjab from Central Asia through the Scytho-Iranian peoples.

Now we turn to the custom of selling animals having teeth in the upper and lower jaws (*ubhayato-dadbhir-vyavahāra*), which drew the attention of Baudhāyana. It is well-known that the Indus is called 'full of good horses' (*svaśvā*) in the *Nadistuti* hymn of the *Ṛgveda*, cited above. In Buddhist literature the land of the Kambojas is styled as the home of horses (*assānam-āyatanam*).[34] The *Kāśikā* on *Pāṇini-sūtra* VI, 2, 13 (*gantavya-paṇyam vāṇije*) refers to the merchants, who dealt in horses (*aśva-vāṇijā*). Even now the horse-fair of Amritsar on the eve of Dīpāvali is a famous centre of buying and selling horses. Pāṇini has also mentioned the famous breed of mares from beyond the Indus (*pāre-vaḍavā*-VI, 2, 42). In the *Mahābhārata* the Kambojas of the north-western regions are said to have brought the presents of three hundred horses for Yudhiṣṭhira on the occasion of his Rājasūya sacrifice. These horses are described as spotted , with snouts like the beaks of parrots, speckled like tittira and are said to have been fattened on the fruits of Salvadora Persica (*pilu*) and śami trees and the nuts of Terminala Catappa (*ingudaiḥ*).[35] In the same continuation the

33. Berthold Laufer, *Sino-Iranica* p. 302.

33 a. *Aṣṭāngahṛdaya* of Vāgbhaṭṭa (Uttaratantra)

यस्योपयोगेनशकाङ्गनानां लावण्यसारादिविनिर्मितानाम्

cited by Rahula Sānkṛityāyāna, *Madhya Asia Ka Itihāsa* (in Hindi) Vol. I p. 68.

34. *Sumaṅgalavilāsini* Vol. I p. 124.

35. *Mahābhārata* II, 47, 4.

अश्वाँस्तित्तिरकल्माषाँस्त्रिशतं शुकनासिकान् ।
उष्ट्रवामीत्रिशतं च पुष्टा पीलुशमीङ्गुदैः ॥

horses of Gandhāra are referred[36] to and the Yavanas, accompanying Bhagadatta, are said to have brought horses, which defied the wind in their speed and impetuosity.[37] Some other mysterious peoples of the north-west, like the Dvyakṣas (probably the people of Badakshan), Tryakṣas, Lalāṭākṣas, Auṣṇiṣas, Romakas (probably of the Salt Range region known as Rumā) and Ekapādas, are stated to have offered the horses of variegated colours, that were extremely swift in movement and had been captured from the forests in a wild state.[38] Here the horses of the steppes are probably meant. The Central Asiatic people, like the Sakas, Tukhāras, Kaṅkas (kang-kiu of Sogdiana), wearing shaggy skins and horns, as was customary among some Iranian tribes[39], are also known to have presented choice fast-going horses, which could cover vast distances.[40] In the sculptures of Begram Scythian horse-dealers wearing pointed caps and long tunics are prominently depicted.[41] Thus it is clear that the north-western regions were specially known for good horses and horse trade was a main avocation of the peoples living there.

It is well-known that the Chinese liked the horses of the Iranian regions. Emperor Wu (140-87 B.C.) sent regular missions to these lands for obtaining horses. About ten missions were sent every year. The minimum was five or six missions per annum. At first the horses of Wu-sun were preferred and

36. *Ibid* II, 47, 8.
बलिं च कृत्स्नमादाय भरुकच्छनिवासिनः ।
उपनिन्युर्महाराज हयान्गान्धारदेशजान् ॥

37. *Ibid* II, 47, 12, 13
यवनैः सहितो राजा भगदत्तो महारथः ।
आजेयान्हयान्शीघ्रानादायानिलरंहसः ॥

38. *Ibid* II, 47, 15,-18 द्वयक्षांस्त्र्यक्षांल्ललाटाक्षान्नानादिग्भ्यः समागतान् । औष्णीषानन्निवासांश्च बाहुकान् (रोमकान्) पुरुषादकान् । एकपादांश्च तत्राहमपश्यं द्वारि पारितान् ।

39. In the sculptures of Mathurā some foreigners are depicted as wearing horns. They are probably the descendants of the Visāṇins of the Vedic times.

40. *Mahābhārata* II, 47, 26
शकास्तुखारा कङ्काश्च रोमशाः श्रृङ्गिणो नराः ।
महागमान्दूरगमान्गणितानर्बुदं हयान् ॥

41. J. Hackin, *Nouvelles recherches archéologiques en Bégram* Vol. I pp. 84-85; Vol. II plate 96.

then those of Ferghana began to be liked. They were called 'blood-sweating' (*han hūe*) and were believed to be the off spring of a heavenly horse (*t'ien ma*). Chang K'ien thought that if those superior horses were to thrive in China their favourite food alfalfa should also go there. Hence he obtained the seeds of alfalfa and presented them to his master in 126 B. C. The Chinese word for alfalfa *mu-su* is based on an Iranian word, as shown by Berthold Laufer.[42]

To sum up, we find that the people of the north mainly lived by the trade of horse. The horse is an animal having teeth in both the jaws. It is the trade of this animal, which was meant by Baudhāyana in his reference to *ubhayato-dadhhir-vyavahāra*.

Lastly we have to consider the trade of arms (*āyudhīya*) mentioned by Baudhāyana as the peculiar trait of the people of the north. We have referred above to the guilds of professional and mercenary soliders, that were rampant in the Panjab in the fourth century B. C. Pāṇini has called them *āyudhajīvī samgha*.[43] Kauṭilya has named them as *āyudhīya*[43a] and in Pāli literature they are termed as *yodhajīvī*. Pāṇini mentions several kinds of these soldier-communities (*āyudhajīvīsamgha*) (1) *parvatīya* or mountaineers living on both sides of the Hindu Kush in Afghanistan e.g. the *Hṛdgoliya* of Hṛdgolā, modern Hidda, *Andhakavartiya* of Andhakavarta, modern Andkhui, *Rohitagiriya* of Rohitagiri, *Haṁsamārga*, of modern Hunza. (2) *pūga* under the leadership of *grāmaṇi* or hereditary tribal heads settled on the right bank of the Indus as the *Mahābhārata* (II 32,9) states e,g, *Aśani*, modern Shinwaris, *Kārshāpaṇa*, modern Karshbuns, *Āprita*, modern Afridis, *Pavinda*, modern Powindas *Vanavya*, modern tribes of the Wana valley etc., which included the vrātas or bands of bellicose robbers living by plunder and depredation (3) *vāhikasaṁgha* living from the Indus up to the Beas and having kula-polities or oligarchical constitutions, in which the members of the military aristocracy ranked above

42. Berthold Laufer, *Sino-Iranica* pp. 208-219.

43. *Pāṇinisūtra* IV, 3, 91. आयुधजीविभ्यश्छ पर्वते ।

ibid V, 3, 114. आयुधजीविसङ्घाञ्ञ्यड्वाहीकेष्वब्राह्मणराजन्यात् ।

43. a. *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* II ,35 ग्रामाग्रं परिहारकमायुधीयं निबन्धयेत ।

the common people and enjoyed the privilege of ruling over the community e,g, *Vṛka*, *Yaudheya*, *Trigarta-ṣaṣṭhas*, *Śaubhreya*, (Sabarwal), *Śaukreya*, *Vārteya* (modern Batras), *Dhārteya* *Uśinara* etc.[44] These soldier-communities lent their services to those, who promised them rich emoluments. They figured in the retinues of the Achaemenian emperors from the time of Xerxes to that of Darius III. They were an element of instability in the Panjab[46a] and were being progressively engulfed in the movements of monarchical unity. .

These people did not adhere to the hide-bound system of castes. We learn from the *Assalāyaṇa-sutta* of the *Majjhimanikāya* that among the Yonas, Kambojas and Gāndhāras, living on the north-western frontiers of India, the four-fold caste organization was unknown and there were only two classes of freemen and slaves, ārya and dāsa, characterised by a unique mobility. Among them a freeman could become a slave and vice-versa.[45] At the time of Aśoka these peoples constituted the ethnic frontier of India in the north. But they were gradually pressing into the interior of the Panjab from the time of Alexander. About that period a large number of exotic and outlandish elements had penetrated into the social set-up of this region. Hence the concept of caste became loose and dim and social promiscuity became the order of the day. There is a graphic description of this hotch-potch in the *Mahābhārata*. Recapitulating the remark of a Brāhmaṇa, who had visited the Vāhika country, Karṇa observes : "there, a person becomes Kṣatriya after being a Brāhmaṇa; a Vaiśya turns a Śūdra and then becomes a barber. Again from the position of a barber he rises to that of a Brāhmaṇa. Having become

44. V. S. Agrawala, *India as known to Pāṇini* pp. 434-454.
'*Mahābhārata*-A cultural Commentary', *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* Vol. XXXVII (1957) pp. 19-22.

44. a. The *Mahābhārata* states that highway robbery was rampant in the Panjab as a result of the existence of the Vrātas VIII, 44, 21-22.

पथि सुप्रबला भूत्वा कदा सम्पततोऽध्वगान् ।
चेलापहारं कुर्वाणांस्ताडयिष्याम भूयसः ॥
एवंशीलेषु व्रात्येषु वाहीकेषु दुरात्मसु ।
कश्चेतयानो निवसेन्मुहूर्तमपि मानवः ।

45. *Majjhima-nikāya*, (Pali Text Society edition) Vol. II p. 149.
अय्यो हुत्वा दासो होति दासो हुत्वा अय्यो होति ।

a Brāhmaṇa he again turns a slave."[46] This passage is a reiteration of what Buddha remarked about the social mobility among the Yonas, Kambojas and Gāndhāras.

In this state of affairs the exclusive caste of the Brāhamaṇas had disappeared. The persons of the ruling class performed their religious ceremonies themselves.[47] Hence it was natural that, according to the orthodox people, the Vedas, altars and sacrifices become unknown there. How could the gods accept the oblations of such blasphemous and sacrilegious people ?[48]

In such an atmosphere of change the canons of sex-morality could hardly remain intact. Family standards were thrown overboard and considerations of purity were relinquished in this process of social amalgamation. Hence the *Mahābhārata* satirically remarked that the Vāhikas had no sons but only sisters' sons.[49] Women also assumed a long latitude in sexual conduct and gave an incentive to the promiscuity of

46. *Mahābhārata* VIII, 45, 6-7
तत्र वै ब्राह्मणो भूत्वा ततो भवति क्षत्रियः ।
वैश्यः शूद्रश्च वाहीकस्ततो भवति नापितः ॥
नापितश्च ततो भूत्वा पुनर्भवति ब्राह्मणः ।
द्विजो भूत्वा च तत्रैव पुनर्दासोऽभिजायते ॥

47. *Ibid* VII, 40, 30.
मद्रकेषु च संसृष्टं शौचं गान्धारकेषु च ।
राजयाजकराज्ये च नष्टं दत्तं हविर्भवेत् ॥
Ibid VIII, 45, 25.
मानुषाणां मलं म्लेच्छा म्लेच्छानां शौण्डिका मलम् ।
शौण्डिकानां मलं षण्ढाः षण्डानां राजयाजकाः ॥

48. *Ibid* VIII, 44, 46.
वेदा न तेषां वेद्यश्च यज्ञा यजनमेव च ।
व्रात्यानां दासमीयानामन्नं देवा न भुञ्जते ॥

49. *Ibid*, VIII, 45, 11-13.
सती पुरा हृता काचिदारट्टात् किल दस्युभिः ।
अधर्मतश्चोपयाता सा तानभ्यशपत् ततः ॥
बालां बन्धुमतीं यन्मामधर्मेणोपगच्छथ ।
तस्मान्नार्यो भविष्यन्ति बन्धक्यो वै कुलस्य च ॥
न चैवास्मात् प्रमोक्षध्वं घोरात् पापान्नराधमाः ।
तस्मात्तेषां भागहरा भागिनेया न सूनवः ॥

caste and culture.[50] They became free from all disabilities and restrictions imposed by orthodox culture. Noy only ārya and dāsa or Brāhmaṇa and Śudra, but also man and woman became equal in the social revolution of the Panjab.

The foods and drinks of the people of the Panjab were also revolting to the conservative people of the Middle Country. They ate the flesh of pig, cock, cow, donkey, camel and sheep[51] and drank the milk of these animals.[52] Reference has been made to their custom of consuming onions and garlic. All these traits point to the intrusion of a pronounced nomadic Asiatic element in the population of the Panjab. This element was known as *bālhīka* after the name of its Bactrian habitat. But this designation became distorted as *vāhika* and began to denote the entire peoples living to the north and west of the Beas. Gradually its original significance was forgotten and a fantastic etymology, based on an attitude of hostility and denunciation, was invented for it. The *Mahābhārata* states that two goblins (piśācas), named *Bahi* and *Hika* lived in the Vipāśā river (Beas). Their off-spring were the Vāhikas. Thus Brahman has not generated them. How then could they know the various morals ?[53]

50. *Ibid.* VIII, 40, 36-38.

मैथुनेऽसंयताश्चापि यथाकामवराश्च ताः ।
तासां पुत्रः कथं धर्मं मद्रको वक्तुमर्हति ॥
यास्तिष्टन्त्यः प्रमेहन्ति यथैवोष्ट्रदशेरकाः ।
× × ×
सुवीरकं याज्यमाना मद्रिका कर्षति स्फिचौ ।
गौर्यो बृहत्यो निर्ह्रीका मद्रिकाः कम्बलावृताः ॥
घस्मरा नष्टशौचाश्च प्राय इत्यनुशुश्रुम ॥

51. *Ibid.* VIII, 44, 28.

वाराहं कौक्कुटं मांसं गव्यं गार्दभमौष्ट्रिकम् ।
ऐडं च ये न खादन्ति तेषां जन्म निरर्थकम् ।

52. *Ibid.* VIII, 44, 36, 37.

आविकं चौष्ट्रिकं चैव क्षीरं गार्दभमेव च ।
तद्विकारांश्च वाहीकाः खादन्ति च पिबन्ति च ॥

53. *Ibid.* VIII, 44, 41-42.

बहिश्च नाम हीकश्च विपाशायां पिशाचकौ ।
तयोरपत्यं वाहीका नैषा सृष्टिः प्रजापतेः ॥
ते कथं विविधान् धर्मान् ज्ञास्यन्ते हीनयोनयः ॥

We have studied above the implications of Baudhāyana's enumeration of the main characteristics of the culture of the Panjab, which became an anathema in the eyes of the orthodox people of the Gangetic valley. We have also observed that the detraction of the people of the Panjab from the established standards of conservative society was the result of a social revolution, which was brought about by the intrusion of exotic Asiatic elements into its population. The hall-mark of this revolution was the overthrow of the *varṇāśramadharma*, that had become the corner-stone of traditional and puritan culture. Hence the elements of tradition, conservatism and orthodoxy nestled in the citadel of Kurukṣetra and then in the Gangetic valley. The people of these regions unfurled the banner of revolt against the social revolution of the Panjab. As a consequence, the Panjab was excluded from the socio-geographical conception of Āryāvarta. We have observed that in the gāthā of the Bhāllavins the Indus (*Sindhu*) was described as the western boundary of Āryāvarta. But Baudhāyana differed from this view of Āryāvarta. According to him, the western frontier of Āryāvarta was Adarśana or Vinaśana, the place, where the Sarasvatī disappeared in the sands. This place is identical with Sirsa and Bhatnair.[54] The river Sarsuti (ancient Sarasvatī) rises from the Sivalik Hills, traverses the northern portion of the Karnal district, flows past Thanesar (*Sthaṇvīśvara*) and Pehova (*Pṛthūdakā*) in Kaithal Tehsil (*Kapiṣṭhala*), where it receives a tributary, called Markanda, and ultimately joins the Ghaggar, which represents the lower course of the Sarasvatī. This river then flows past Sirsa (*Sairiśaka*) in the Hissar district and is lost in the desert at Bhatnair, whence a dry river bed, called Hakra or Ghaggar, exists up to the Indus. Recently the archaeological department of the Government of India has found the traces of Harappan civilization in the sand-dunes of this dry river-bed in the north-western part of the Bikaner division of Rajasthana, a few miles east of the Tehsil Suratgarh.[55] We have seen that in the post-Mahā-

54. *Journal of the Department of Letters* (1935) Vol. XXVIII pp. 4-5; *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1893) p. 51.
Archaeological Survey of India Vol. XIV p. 102; *Indian Gazetteer* Vol. XX p. 100; *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* Vol. XX IX (1948) p. 125.

55. *The Hindustan Times* (New Delhi) dated 25-7-51.

bhārata period this region was overrun by exotic tribes like the Ābhīras, as a result of which the traditions of the disappearance of the Sarasvatī at Vinaśana on account of the foul contact of the Ābhīras cropped up. Thereafter the region to the north and west of Sirsa began to be considered outside the pale of Aryan society. Baudhāyana expressed this view while mentioning the boundaries of Āryāvarta as follows :

"The country of the Āryas (Āryāvarta) lies to the east of the region, where (the river Sarasvatī) disappears, to the west of the Black-Forest (Kālakavana), to the north of the Pāriyātra (mountains) and to the south of the Himālaya. The rule of conduct, which (prevails) there, is authoritative."[56]

As a matter of fact this description of Āryavārta became a stock-expression, which was used by various authors with slight variations. Vaśiṣṭha quotes it[57] exactly as Baudhāyana does, but Patanjali reads *adarśana* as *ādarśa*.[58] *Ādarśa* is identified with the Aravalli Hills in Rajputana.[59] But the authentic reading was *Vinaśana*, since it is found in earlier texts and represents a clearly marked cultural and geographical frontier. According to the *Manusmṛti*, Vinaśana is the western limit of Madhyadeśa.[60] Likewise in the Pāli text *Mahāvagga* the western boundary of the Middle Country is *Sthula*, which is probably identical with Sthaṇvīśvara.[61] In the *Divyāvadāna* (p. 22) this place figures as *Sthuṇa*. The *Mahābhārata* describes the Sarasvatī, which waters Kurukṣetra, as the dividing line between the Land of the Five Rivers, peopled by the Vāhikas,

56. G. Bühler, *The Sacred Laws of the Āryas* Part II (Vaśiṣṭha and Baudhāyana) S. B. E. Vol. IV p. 147.

The text of I, 1, 2, 9 as edited by Hultzsch is प्रागदर्शनात् प्रत्यक्कालवनात् दक्षिणेन हिमवन्तमुदङ् पारियात्रम् एतदार्यावर्तम् ।

57. *Ibid.* p. 2.

58. *Pātañjala Mahābhāṣya* on *Pāṇini* II, 4, 10. (Kielhorn's edition) Vol. III, p. 174 प्रागादर्शात् प्रत्यक्कालवनात् दक्षिणेन हिमवन्तमुत्तरेण पारियात्रम् ।

59. S. B. Chaudhury, 'Āryāvarta' *Indian Historical Quarterly* (1949) Vol. XXV p. 116.

60. *Manusmṛti* II, 21.

हिमवद्विन्ध्ययोर्मध्ये यत्प्राग्विनशनादपि ।
प्रत्यगेव प्रयागाच्च मध्यदेशः प्रकीर्तितः ॥

61. *Mahāvagga* VIII, 12, 12.

who were impure and outside the fold of dharma and the Middle Country, which was the cradle of religion and righteousness and the home of good ideals and standards.[62] The land to the west of Vinaśana, watered by the Five Rivers, Vipāśā (Beas) Śatadru (Sutlej), Irāvati (Ravi), Candrabhāgā (Chenab) and Vitastā (Jhelum) and flanked by the sixth river Sindhu (Indus) and extending up the Lesser Himālayan Range of low-lying peaks, known as *bahirgiri*, was populated by the Āraṭṭas, who were described as devoid of dharma.[63] Thus it is clear that Āryāvarta became conterminous with Madhyadeśa with Vinaśana as its western boundary. This process of the narrowing of the weltanschaaung of Āryāvarta went further and what is known as Kurukṣetra proper was also excluded from it. Both Vaśiṣṭha and Baudhāyana quote a view that the country of the Āryas is situated between the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā.[64] According to a view, enunciated in the *Mahābhārata*, the land of the Kuru-Pañcālas (Gangetic Basin) up to the region of the Matsyas was the home of culture (siṣṭatā) and religion (dharma).[65] It was this region, which set forth the models and created the standards of piety and good conduct. All the peoples of the world were enjoined to learn culture

62. *Mahābhārata* VIII, 44, 6-7.

बहिष्कृता हिमवता गङ्गया च बहिष्कृताः ।
सरस्वत्या यमुनया कुरुक्षेत्रेण चापि ये ॥
पंचानां सिन्धुषष्टानां नदीनां येऽन्तराश्रिताः ।
तान् धर्मबाह्यानशुचीन् वाहीकानपि वर्जयेत् ॥

63. *Ibid.* VIII, 44, 31,-32.

पंचनद्यो वहन्त्येता यत्र पीलुवनान्युत ।
शतद्रुश्च विपाशा च तृतीयैरावती तथा ॥
चन्द्रभागा वितस्ता च सिन्धुषष्टा बहिर्गिरेः ।
आरट्टा नाम ते देशा नष्टधर्मा न तान् व्रजेत् ॥

64. G. Bühler, *The Sacred Laws of the Āryas* Part II (Vaśiṣṭha and Baudhāyana) pp. 3 and 147. The *sūtra* is एतदार्यावर्तमित्याचक्षते गंगायमुनयोरन्तरेत्येके

Vaśiṣṭha I, 12; Baudhāyana I, 1, 2, 10.

65. *Mahābhārata* VIII, 45, 16.

आ मत्स्येभ्यः कुरुपांचालदेश्या आ नैमिषाच्चेदयो ये विशिष्टाः ।
धर्मं पुराणमुपजीवन्ति सन्तो भद्रानृते पाञ्चनदांश्च जिह्मान् ॥

and manners at the feet of the high classes of this land.[66]

We have described above the social revolution of the Panjab and the revolt of the Middle Country against it. In the post-Maurya period the tempo of this revolution was heightened by the advent and long rule of the Greeks, Parthians, Sakas and Kuṣāṇas. The movements, launched under the rulers of these tribes, culminated in the 'Universal Empire of Kaniṣka. As Toynbee has put it, the Kuṣāṇas of the dynasty of Kaniṣka performed the wonderful feat of "abolishing the Hindu Kush."[67] Hence the Panjab became a part of a Central Asiatic empire with no dividing barrier or frontier. The peoples of Asia swarmed into the Panjab in vast multitudes and dominated her culture. Chinese, Scythian, Iranian and Graeco-Roman ideas and styles began to sway the manners, morals, literature, art, religion and philosophy of this land. In short, it was cut adrift from the sphere of conservative Indo-Aryan culture.

Prof. Toynbee has described a 'Universal State' as a melting pot, in which diverse racial and social elements are amalgamated in common humanity. The ruling classes adopt the manners and customs of the common people and both of them follow the ways and behaviour of exotic tribes, that come and settle in their country. Toynbee calls these tendencises "proletarianisation" and "barbarisation"[68]. They are particularly operative in military circles, where movements of equality start as a consequence. The Khurasāni mavalis under the later Umayyads and the Abbasids in the Middle-East and the Roman provincials, consisting of a medley of tribes and races, under the Roman emperors, beginning with Septimius Severus and his son Caracalla, were the spearheads of the movement for the liquidation of privilege and establishment of equality.[69] As a result, these universal states came to represent a social

66. *Manusmṛti* II, 18-20.

तस्मिन् देशे य आचारः पारम्पर्यंक्रमागतः ।
वर्णानां सान्तरालानां स सदाचार उच्यते ।
एतद्देशप्रसूतस्य सकाशादग्रजन्मनः ।
स्वं स्वं चरित्रं शिक्षेरन् पृथिव्यां सर्वमानवाः ॥

67. Arnold J. Toynbee, *A Study of History* Vol. V p. 274-275.
68. Arnold J. Toynbee, *A Study of History* Vol. V pp. 439-480.
69. *Ibid.* Vol. VII pp. 139-157

pammixia and promiscuity, in which the cultural identity and distinctness of these societies was merged in an upsurge of foreign elements and impulses.

The Kuṣāṇa empire resembled there universal states in a variety of ways. It had become a melting-pot of Chinese, Iranian, Roman and Indian cultures. The emperors adopted the titles characteristic of these societies : Chinese *Devaputra*, Iranian *Śāhānuśāhī*, Roman *Kaiser* and Indian *Mahārāja*. Symbolic of these three culture-worlds are the remains of the lacquer bowls from China, glass vessels from Syria or Egypt, bronze bowls from western factories and the coffers and plaques of carved bone and ivory from India found in the rooms of the palace of Begram.[70] The collection of this culture-material from the East and the West and the North and the South is an emblem of the confluence of all the culture-streams of the Old World. In the wake of these social and cultural movements European and Iranian religions became current in India and left an imprint on Indian religions. In the Jaina text *Aṅgavijjā* there is a reference to the worship of the Graeco-Roman goddesses, Pallas (*Apalā*), Irene (*Airāṇi*), Artemis (*Missakesi*) and Selene (*Sālimālini*) and the Iranian goddess Anāhitā (*Anāditā*).[71] The cult of Mithra became popular and the belief in the eight Magas, Mihira, Nikṣubhā, Rājñi, Daṇḍanāyaka, Piṅgala, Rājña, Strauṣa and Īsá Garumtat, gained ground. In the art of Bamiyan the respresentation of the eight Buddhas recalls the conception of these eight Magas.[72] Besides these religious elements, the Śakas were instrumental in introducing a large number of Iranian plants, vegetables and fruits in India. Pistachio (*akṣoṭa* or *akhroṭ*), walnut (*pārasi*), pomegranate (*dāḍima*, Iranian *dulima*) coriander (*kustumburu*), shallot (*meleccha-kanda*), garlic (*laśuna*), onion (*taṇḍula*) asa-

70. J. Hackin & Others, *Nouvelles recherches archéologiques en Bégram, Etudes comparatives* 2 Vol. (Paris 1954).

71. *Aṅgavitjjā* (ed. Muni Puṇyavijaya) p. 69.

अलंबुसा मिस्सकेसी मीणका मियदंसणा ।
अचला (अपला) अणादिता व त्ति अइराणि त्ति वा वदे ।
रंभ त्ति मिस्सकेसि त्ति तिघणी सालिमालिणी ।
तिलोत्तिमा चित्तरधा चित्तलेह त्ति उव्वसी ॥

72. A. Godard, Y. Godard and J. Hackin, *Les antiquités bouddhiqus de Bégram* (1928) Plate XXII.

foetida (*hingu*, Iranian *angu*, Kucean *ankuwa*), oak-galls (*māju-phala*, Iranian *māzu*), cummin (*jīrā*, Iranian *zira*), almond (*vātāma*, Persian *bādāma*), fig (*angira*, Persian *ezir*), water-melon (*tarambuja*, Persian *tarbūz*), carrot (*yavana*) and many other plants were popularised into India from Iran in this period. Likewise, peach (*cināni*), pear (*cinarājaputra*), minium (*cīnapiṣṭa*), a kind of camphor (*cīnakarpūra*) and lead (*cīnavanga*) were brought from China, as their Indian names suggest. Hiuen T'sang reports a tradition that the tribes west of the Yellow River in Kansu sent hostages to Kaniṣka, who treated them with great honour. Their winter-residence was established somewhere in eastern Panjab and was called *Cīnabhukti*. It was these hostages, who introduced the pear and the peach into India.[73] Like these plants, vegetables and fruits, many exotic arms and dresses became current in India in this age. Coat (*kurtau*, *kotavaka* of the *Aṅgavijjā*)[74], trousers (*sukthana*, *santhana* or *svasthagaṇa*), belt (*cakras*,[75] Avestan, *caxro*, Tokharian, *kukail*) and boots[76] (*khapusā*,

73. Berthold Laufer, *Sino-Iranica* (Chicago 1919).

74. In the Sanskṛt-Chinese lexicon, compiled by Li-yen (died 785 or 794 A. D.), the Sanskrit word *kurtau* is given as a synonym of the Chinese word *Chan* meaning a shirt. (P. C. Bagchi, *Deux Lexiques Sanskrite Chinois*, Vol. 2 p. 357). In the text *Aṅgavijjā* we find a word *kotavaka* along with *pāvāraka*, *uṇṇika* and *attharaka*. These clothes were worn on the body (*Aṅgavijjā* p. 163 महणेसु पावारकं वा कोतवकं वा उण्णिकं वा अत्थरकं वा

This *kotavaka*, kotava + ka, is a Prākrit form of *kurta*. In Persian it seems to have become *kābā* with the loss of the medial dental. These words are derived from a Saka word for the upper garment. It survives among the Mongols of the Ordos region in the form of *Urt'u ts'amts'a* (Antoine Mostaert, 'Matériaux ethnographiques relatifs aux Mongols Ordos', *Central Asiatic Journal* Vol. II (1956) p. 265. This word *urtu'* is of the same stock as *kurtau*. In the words of Central Asiatic laguages and their transcriptions *K* and *Y* are often interchanged. For instance, Ku-chi (Kutsi) becomes Yu-che in Chinese.

75. The words *sukthana* and *santhana* occur in some commentaries of the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya reproduced and paraphrased by T. Gaṇapati Śāstrin (*Arthaśāstra* Vol. I p. 194 संपुटिका जंघात्राणं सक्यणाभिधानमिति क्वचिट्टीकादर्शे लिखितं सन्थनमित्यन्यत्र लिखितं दृश्यते ।

In the *Harṣacarita* of Bāṇabhaṭṭa the warriors of Harṣa are said to be wearing trousers (*svasthagaṇa*) made of printed thin silk (*Harṣacarita*) p. 202 उच्चित्रनेत्रसुकुमारस्वस्थगणस्थगितजंघाकाण्डैश्च A variant of this word is *Sunthanā*, which occurs in the Buddhist text *Mahāvyutpatti*. All these words are based on the Khotanese word *suthamna* or Kāṃmada. In the Kharoṣṭhi documents from Central Asia, discovered by Sir Aurel Stein, (document no. 149) this word figures as *somstamni*. H. W. Bailey, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* Vol. XI p. 532.

76. Sanskrit *Cakraś*, Avestan *Caxro*, Tokharian A *Kukāl*.

kavaśi) became the main items of the national dress and were adopted by the Guptas also. Similarly the vogue of the metal ring armour (*kavaca*, Chinese *kia-cha*)[77], the long sword and pike and the gradually increasing use of cavalry in place of chariots were the contributions of Central Asiatic peoples. The use of the stirrup[79] and horse-shoe[79], which started somewhere in the steppes, made its appearance in India in this age. To sum up, we find that almost every aspect of the life and culture of the Panjab was revolutionized in this age.

Indian literature has preserved some significant echoes of this great social revolution. The *Yugapurāṇa* of the *Gārgīsaṁhitā*, the *Vajrasūcī*, ascribed to Aśvaghoṣa, and the chapter of *yugakṣaya* in the *Vanaparvan* of the *Mahābhārata* and the ghastly picture of social decadence in the Purāṇas give some hints of this forgotten revolution. The key-note of this revolution was the complete annihilation of the concept of caste. The *Mahābhārata* states that in the age of decadence (*yugakṣaya*)

Chinese *K'uo-lo* or *Kuo-lo*, pronounced as *K'uak-glak*, presupposes an Indo-European *kuekulo*. All these words mean a belt, The 'belt-hook' was known as *hsi-p'i* or *shih-p'i* in Chinese, *sarpio* in Latin, p. I in Greek and *srop* in Slavonic. It is likely that the Hindi word *caprās*, from which has come *caprāsī* (चपरासी), has come from these words. Otto Maenchen-Helfen, 'Are Chinese *hsi-pi* and *kuo-lo* Indo-European loan words ? *Language* Vol. XXI (1945) pp. 256-260; 'Crenelated Mane and Scabbard Slide, *Central Asiatic Journal* Vol. III (1957) p. 99.

77. *Khapusā* is used in the *Bṛhatkalpasūtrabhāṣya* (III, 2385) in the sense of full-boots. In Kharoṣṭhi documents (nos. 432 and 581) *kavaji* and *kovaji* are used for shoes, which are the Sanskrit *kavasi*. Sanskrit *kośava* and Persian *kafs* are also based on these words.

78. Berthold Laufer, *Chinese Clay Figures, Prolegomena on the History of Defensive Armour* (Chicago) p. 224, p. 214

The *lohajālika* of *Aṅgavijjā* (p 63) corresponds to the ring-armour, which is found on the bodies of the Kuṣāṇa emperors Vāsudeva and his successors exhibited on their coins. Ludwig Bachhofer, 'On the Greeks and Sakas in India' *Journal of the American Oriental Society* Vol. 61 (1941) p. 249.

The use of the stirrup started among the cavaliers of the Steppes. In a Graeco-Scythic vase, found at Tchertomlik, there is a representation of stirrup, which consists of a ring-stop issuing from the girth. The use of the stirrup is attested by the material found in the tumulus of Kozel near Novo Alexandrovka in the district of Melitopol. Among the people of Altai it was current in the first century B. C. In the West neither the Greeks nor the Romans knew the strirrup. It was in the sixth century A. D. that the Avars introduced it for the first time there. (W. W. Arendt, 'Sur l' apparition de l' étrier chez les Scythes, *Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua* Vol. IX (1934) p. 208; René Grousset '*L' Empire des Steppes* p. 37). In the art of Barhut, Sanci and Mathurā women are shown to be using them. Bāṇa (7th cent. A. D.) is the first Indian author to refer tc the use of stirrups by men in literature. (V. S. Agrawāla, *Harṣacarita eka Sāṁskṛitika Adhyayana* (Hindi) p. 148.

79. René Ghirshman, *Iran*, p. 285.

all the four varṇas will merge into one varṇa.[80] In this egalitarian society the lower grades will get the upperhand. All people will become like the Śūdras.[81] As the *Yugapurāṇa* says, all people, consisting of the Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras, will dress themselves alike and will behave alike. All of them will give up ārya manners and customs and will become anāryas.[82] In the words of the *Mahābhārata*, the entire people will become mlecchas and there will be a fierce dash and grab on all sides.[83] This egalitarian ideology is adumbrated in the *Vajrasūcī*. In it the basic concept of caste is sharply challenged and the idea of brāhmaṇahood is trenchently critised. A question is raised "Who is Brāhmaṇa ? What is his being, birth body, mind, conduct, action and knowledge." The answer is : "If the son of a Brahmaṇa is to regarded as a Brāhmaṇa, then a Brāhmaṇa is conspicuous by absence, because the parentage of everybody is open to question. The Brāhmaṇa women cohabit with the Śūdras. Hence there is no Brāhmaṇa by birth".[84]

80. *Mahābhārata* III, 190, 42.
ब्राह्मणाः क्षत्रिया वैश्या न शिष्यन्ति जनाधिपाः ।
एकवर्णस्तदा लोको भविष्यति युगक्षये ॥

81. *Ibid.* III, 190, 17-18.
ब्राह्मणाः क्षत्रिया वैश्या न शिष्यन्ति जनाधिपाः ।
ब्राह्मणाः क्षत्रिया वैश्याः संकीर्तयन्तः परस्परम् ।
शूद्रतुल्या भविष्यन्ति तपःसत्यविवर्जिताः ।

82. *Yugapurāṇa* (ed. D. R. Mankad) 99-100.
अनार्याश्चाप्यधर्माश्च भविष्यन्ति नराधमाः ।
ब्राह्मणाः क्षत्रिया वैश्याः शूद्राश्चैव युगक्षये ॥
समवेशाः समाचारा भविष्यन्ति न संशयः ।
पाषण्डैश्चैव समायुक्ता नरास्तस्मिन् युगक्षये ॥

83. *Mahābhārata* III, 190, 38.
म्लेच्छीभूतं जगत् सर्वं भविष्यति न संशयः ।
हस्तो हस्तं परिमुषेत् युगान्ते समुपस्थिते ॥

84. *Vajrasūcī* ed. Surjit Kumar Mukhopādhyāya (Śāntiniketan 1950) p. 1 and p. 3.

कोऽयं ब्राह्मणो नाम किं जीवः किं जातिः किं शरीरं किं ज्ञानं किमाचारः किं कर्म किं वेद इति ।

यदि ब्राह्मणपुत्रो ब्राह्मणस्तर्हि ब्राह्मणाभावः प्राप्नोति इदानीन्त्वेषु ब्राह्मणेषु पितरि संदेहात् गोत्रब्राह्मणमारभ्य ब्राह्मणीनां शूद्राभिगमनदर्शनात् अतो जातिब्राह्मणो न भवति ।

In this social change the licentiousness of women played an important part. As noted above, the *Mahābhārata* fiercely lashes out at the laxity of the women of the Panjab. In the account of *Yugakṣaya* also this theme is taken up. Women are called licentious (*svairācārāḥ*)[85] and men are described as engrossed in sexual pursuits.[86] In the *Yugapurāṇa* also men are said to be addicted to women.[87] In the *Vinaya* of the *Mūlasarvāstivādins* there is a pointed remark about the loose character of northern women. Przyluski has translated the relevent passage as follows :—

'Le sol est accidenté, les épines sont en abondance et nombreuses sont les pierres, les grands personages sont les plus méchants, les femmes se conduisent mal."[88]

In this society religious standards and conventions also underwent a change. People no longer followed the old cults of Vedic sacrifices and ceremonials and rather placed their reliance on rational and causal philosophies (*hetuvāda*).[89] The *Milindapañho* and the *Vajrasūcī* and all the vast philosophical literature of Buddhism produced in the north-west are the significant outcome of these trends of thought. In actual practice the cult of the burial mounds, Buddhist stūpas, Scythian graves[90], or terraced sepulchres triumphed over the orthodox religion of Brāhmanical atlars and shrines. The reference to the popularity of *eḍukas*, signifying these mounds, finds a unique confirmation in the Kala Sang inscription, found

85. *Mahābhārata* III, 190, 45.
स्वैराचाराश्च पुरुषा योषितश्च विशाम्पते ।

86. III, 190, 20.
भार्यामित्राश्च पुरुषा भविष्यन्ति युगक्षये ।

87. *Yugapurāṇa* 101.
स्त्रीनिमित्तं च मित्राणि करिष्यन्ति न संशय ॥

88. Jean Przyluski, 'Le Nord-Ouest de l' Inde après le Vinaya des Mūlasarvāstivādins' *Journal Asiatique* (1914) p. 513.

89. *Mahābhārata* III, 190, 26.
न व्रतानि चरिष्यन्ति ब्राह्मणा वेदनिन्दकाः ।
न यक्ष्यन्ति न होष्यन्ति हेतुवादविमोहिताः ॥

90. The Scythians had a custom of burying the dead as well as depositing their bones in mounds after getting the flesh eaten by birds or removed by hand or burning the corpse. Splendid graves of the Scythians have come to light in the Pazirik valley in the Altai regions. In India burial mounds of the Khasas are found from Ladakh up to the Kumaun hills (Rāhula Sāṅkṛityāyana *Madhya Asia Ka Itihāsa* (in Hindi) Vol. I p. 68.)

in the territory of the Khunda Khels of the Yusufzai border, recording the construction and consecration of an eḍuka. (kūpa-eḍuka).[91]

Thus we observe that the social revolution of the Panjab, which started with the immigration of exotic tribes in the post-Vedic period and reached its climax in the age of the Yavanas and the Sakas, brought about a significant levelling, mingling and jumbling of various racial and cultural elements in this region. Out of this pell-mell issued a new social structure, which we proceed to study now.

2. *The formation of the social complex of the Panjab.*

In the above study of the social revolution of the Panjab we have noted the mixing and mingling of diverse racial and tribal elements in its population. These peoples have revolutionsed the basic concept and structure of caste in the Panjab. After a brilliant and penetrating study of foreign elements in Hindu population, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar has recorded his conclusion as follows :—

"There is hardly a class or caste in India, which has not a foreign strain in it. There is an admixture of alien blood not only amongst the warrior classes, the Rajputs and the Marathas, but also amongst the Brāhmaṇas, who are under the happy delusion that they are perfectly free from all foreign elements. If the Brāhmaṇas have not escaped this taint, as we have seen, and yet call themselves Brāhmaṇas, it excites the risibility of the antiquarian or the ethnologist, when he finds some Brāhmaṇa castes strenuously calling in question the claims of certain warrior classes to style themselves Kṣatriyas. The grounds of this strenuous opposition, as stated by the Brāhmaṇa castes, are that pure unmixed Vedic Āryan blood does not run through the veins of those warrior classes. Yes, this is true, but it is equally true that pure Vedic Aryan blood does not run

91. Sten Konow, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* Vol. II part I p. 54. (सह्) यरण पिपलखअण कुओ एडुओ स(म्)व १(?)१००(?) Sten Konow translates : "of the Pipalakhaa companions, this intersected well". The sense of the passage is not clear. How the well is associated with the Pipalakhaa companions is obscure. Here the meaning is that an eḍuka was constructed for depositing the remains of Pipalakhaa companions. A variant of eḍuka in the *Mahābhārata* is *jāluka*, which recalls the Persian *Ziarat* and Mesopotamian *ziggurat*.

through the veins of the Brāhamaṇas also. Looked at from the antiquarian or ethnological point of view, the claims of either community to such a purity are untenable and absurd."[1]

The tribal amalgamation, which Bhandarkar has observed in the historical development of the people of India, was most pronounced in the population of the Panjab. As a matter of fact, it was from the Panjab that these social tendencies of tribal admixtures spread throughout the greater part of India. Even today we find some caste-names in the Panjab, that are reminiscent of old tribal intrusions and syncretisms. In the present study we have identified a large number of such names. We now tabulate them in order to have a general perspective.

We have seen that the Aryans came and mixed with the Austro-Dravidian peopies of the Panjab. They had some strong Iranian elements, which gave rise to several tribal groupings like the Madras. The modern caste of *Madān* reminds one of these people. We have also observed that a variant of *madra* was *bhadra*. This name survives in the modern castes, called *Bhadvar* or *Badhwar*, and *Bedi*. Analogous to them are the Mālavas. They survive in the *Mālava* Sikhs, that are found in Ludhiana, Jind, Ferozpur and other districts. Another significant people of this age were the Purus or Pauravas. Their chief became very powerful at the time of Alexander. Their name is now found among the *Puris*, which are an important caste of the Khatris. Another Iranian tribe, famous in ancient times, was that of the Kambojas. Their descendants are the *Kamboha* of modern Panjab. At present there are Hindu Kambohas and Muslim Kambohas. They are spread up to Bengal and are known to have played some part in the medieval history of that region.[2] Some of the Kambohas have a tradition of their coming from Kaśmīra, others locate their home-land in Garh Gazni and some trace their origin to the Kai dynasty of Iran. They hold that they fought with the Kurus in the battle of Kurukṣetra and their remnants settled

1. D. R. Bhandarkar, 'Foreign Elements in Hindu population', *Indian Antiquary* Vol. XL pp. 1-37.

2. M. R. Tarafdar, 'Husain Shah in Bengali Literature' '*Indian Historical Quarterly* Vol. XXXII (1956) pp. 56-80.

at Nābhā.[3] Thus the Kambohas still preserve the memory of their Iranian affiliations.

Among other peoples of the Vedic age, the Pakthas and Turvasas, who survive among the modern *Pathans* and *Turis* of the Afghan frontier, are noteworthy. There are many other peoples of that age, but they have merged in the population and are not distinctly traceable.

In the post-Vedic period a group of Scytho-Iranian tribes penetrated into the Panjab and invaded the kingdom of the Kurus. An important tribe of this group was Ārjunayana. Both Kauṭilya and Pāṇini were familiar with it. Arjuna stands for white colour. Hence it appears that the modern survival of this tribal name is *Kapur*, which also denotes whiteness. As for the Yautiyā or Yaudheyas, they have become the *Johiyas*, who live along the banks of the Sutlej in the Bahawalpur State. Another constituent of this group was the Vṛka tribe. Its modern descendants are the *Virk Jats*. In that age the Jartas had moved into the Panjab and occupied the Madra capital Śākala. They represented the Iatioi living near Tashkand to the north of the Jaxartes river according to Ptolemy. In the opinion of Rawlinson, they were identical with the Saka people called *Jata* or *Gata*. They were divided into two branches, the *Massagetae* (big gata) and *Thissagatas* (small gata). Their western wing migrated into Europe and came to be known as *Goth*[4] and eastern branch descended into India and was called *Jarta*. Their modern representatives are the *Jats*, which constitute the backbone of the people of the Panjab.

About the same period a fresh stream of the Bactrian people had swooped over the Panjab. They were known as *Bālhikas* and their name became a general designation of the people of the Panjab. This word was corrupted as Vāhika and, as we have observed, a fanciful etymology was invented for it in the *Mahābhārata*. It was derived from the names of two demons, Bahi and Hika, who are said to have resided in the Vipāśā river and generated the people of the Panjab. But the true import of this name could not be entirely lost. The

3. H. A. Rose, *A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Panjab and North Western Frontier Province* Vol. II pp. 443-44.

4. George Rawlinson, *History of Herodotus* Vol. III pp. 185, 200

Vedic school of the Bhāllavins probably enshrined a memory of these peoples. The modern sub-castes of the Barasarin sub-group of the Khatris *Bhalla* and *Behl* seem to represent the ancient *Bālhikas*. Besides them, the Jat agricultural clans *Bhālār* and *Bhalerah*, found in Multan, the Baloch tribe *Bhalkā*, living in Sindh, Bahawalpur and Dera Ghazi Khan and addicted to to robbery, and the agricultural clan *Bhallowana*, found in Shahpur, are remnants of the far-flung Bāhlika tribes.

At the time of Pāṇini, Kauṭilya and Alexander the Panjab was a veritable cockpit of tribal intrusions and admixtures, which gave rise to the guilds of mercenary soldiers, āyudhīya or āyudhajīvī-sanghas studied above. These people were called arāṣṭraka or stateless. The Prakrit form of this word is āraṭṭa. The modern *aroḍās* of the Panjab are the present remnants of these people. The word *aroḍā* is a variant of āraṭṭa. The number of these people is fairly large. They constitute a caste of their own. Analogous to the Āraṭṭas were the Kāraskaras. They are the modern *Khokharas*.

About the time of Pāṇini the Yavanas had also come in the northern regions of the Panjab. The Achaemenian emperors had settled the Ionian *déracinés* in Bactriana and Sogdiana. Some of these people immigrated into India. We have noted the Ionian colony of Nysa, *Naiśa* janapada, mentioned by Patañjali, A. K. Narain has held that Sophytes was also a Yavana. But there is no evidence in support of this view.[5] A. N. Whitehead has shown that the coin, ascribed to this king, was struck somewhat later in Bactria.[6] But it is undoubted that in the wake of Alexander's invasion the Yavanas settled throughout the Panjab in large numbers. In the Seleucid period there was a regular exchange of embassies between India and the Yavana world. Just after the end of this empire, the Yavanas, who had entrenched their hold in Bactria, swept into the Panjab and established a kingdom, which endured for well over a century with varying vicissitudes. A majority of these Yavanas embraced the religions of Buddhism and Bhagavatism and adopted Indian names and

5. A. K. Narain, *The Indo-Greeks* p. 5.

6. R.B. Whitehead, 'The Eastern Satrap Sophytes' *Numismatic Chronicle* (1943) pp. 60.

culture. In course of time they merged in the people of this country. Schomberg has noted that Shah Sikander Khan, Mir of Nagir, and his brother Sir Mohammad Nazim Khan, Mir of Hunza, used to point out the resemblance of their profiles with those on some Greek coins.[7] At present the sub-caste of the *Jonejās*, found in the Panjab, is a survival of these Yavanas. The word *Jonejā* is the corrupt from of *Yavanaja*. Similarly the *Anejās* bear the imprint of this name. They represent the Greeks who had come and ruled in the Panjab and mixed with its people.

After the Yavanas the Śakas, Parthians and Kuṣāṇas came into the Panjab. We have dealt with the earlier intrusions of the Śakas into India. During their long rule they contributed a great deal to Indian culture and ultimately became one with the Indian people. The depth of their influence on Indian society is manifest from the word *ṭhākura*, which implies the ideas of nobility and divinity and stands for the Rajputs in the Panjab and is derived from the word *thāgora*, *taugāra* or *tukhāra*, as we have shown in a detailed study published recently in Holland.[8] The name Tukhāra itself survives in the name of the *Tokhi* caste found in the North-West.[9] Besides the *Thākaras* and *Tokhis* of the Panjab, there are the caste-groups of *Soi* and *Sikka*, which are reminiscent of the Sakas. Likewise the Khatri sub-castes *Sahni* and *Osahan* remind one of Śāhānuśahī, the title of the Kuṣāṇas. Another caste called *Khosla* is a survival of *Kusulaka*, the surname of the Kṣaharāta chiefs Liaka Kusulaka and his son Patika Kusuluka. Analogous to this word is the name of Kuzula Kadphises the first Kuṣāṇa emperor to advance towards the Panjab. Hultzsch has equated this word with Turki *güjlü*, meaning 'strong', and Sten Konow has compared it with Turki *güzel*, meaning 'beautiful,' but Lūders has shown that it is the name of a family or clan of the Śakas.[10] The name of *Khosla* is a remnant of this tribe.

7. R. C. F. Schomberg, *Between the Oxus and the Indus* pp. 106-145.

8. Buddha Prakash, 'Ṭhākura', *Central Asiatic Journal* Vol. III (1957) 220-237.

9. H. A. Rose, *Glossary of Castes and Tribes of the Panjab and N. W. F. P* p. 515.

10. Sten Konow, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* Vol. II part I introduction pp. 50-51.

In the vicimity of the Yue-chi, Chang K'ien noted the K'ang-Kiu.[11] They occupied Sogdiana and are remembered as *Kaṅkas* in Indian works. In the *Mahābhārata* (II, 47, 26) they are mentioned with the Ṣakas and Tukhāras. In the fifth century A. D. they took part in an invasion of India led by the Kidarite Kuṣāṇas. In the fourth century A. D. they produced eminent Buddhist scholars, who took an important part in the translation of Buddhist works in Chinese. The most famous among them was K'ang Seng-hui (Kaṅka Sanghabhadra), who founded a strong Buddhist school in South China. At present the descendants of these Kankas are the *Kangs* living in the angle of the Beas and the Sutlej. They are spread up to Ferozpur and Ambala and are found all along the banks of the Sutlej and even on the Lower Indus. These Kangs have a tradition that they migrated from Garh Gazni.[12]

From the homeland of the Kang-Kiu many other Sogdian tribes immigrated into the Panjab. Justin has noted that the Sogdoi were also responsible for the fall of the Greek kingdom of Bactria. These Sogdians were Iranians in race and speech. They monopolised the trade between China and the eastern countries. Their colonies were spread over large parts of Turkistan up to the walls of China and their language had become a sort of *lingua franca* in Central Asia.[13] The letters, exchanged between these merchants, ranging from the second century to the fourth century A. D., are a source of precious information about Central Asia.[14] Sogdian merchants also came in the Panjab and settled there in large numbers. In Indian literature they are known as *Cūlika* or *Śulīka*. These words are based on the Chinese *Su-li*, which represents an original *Sulik*, *Suwdhik*, an eastern and southern dialectical form of Sogdian *sughdhik*.[15] In the *Mahābārata* the Cūlikas are men-

11. Chang-K'ien describes the Kang-Kiu as nomads with manners and customs very much the same as those of the Yue-che and living under their political influence. (F. Hirth, 'The Story of Chang K'ien, China's Pioneer in Western Asia' *Journal of the American Oriental Society* Vol. 37 (1917) p. 96.

12. D. C. J. Ibbetson, *The Tribes and Castes of the Panjab and N. W. Province* p. 293.

13. Paul Pelliot, *Influences Iranienne en Asie Central et en Extrême Orient* p. 10.

14. W. B. Henning, 'The Date of the Ancient Sogdian letters', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* (1948) p. 602.

15. Robert Gauthiot, *Eassi de Grammaire Sogdienne*, p. 6.

tioned in the company of the Tuṣāras, Yavanas and Sakas as constituting the right wing of the Krauñcavyūha formed by Bhīṣma on the sixth day of the battle.[16] In the *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa* (557-40) they are grouped with the Lampākas, Kirātas and Kāśmīras and in chapter 58 they are associated with the Pañcadakas (Pañcanadas) and Tārakṣuras (Turuṣkas). In the medical treatise of Caraka (30,6) they are referred to in the context of Central Asiatic tribes, viz. Bālhīka, Pahlava, Cīna, Yavana and Śaka. In the Sanskrit-Chinese lexicon *Fan-yu-tsa-ming* of Li-yen the name *surī* (suli) is given as an equivalent of *hu* (barbarians) and they are dealt with together with the Pārasī, Turuṣakagaṇa, Karpiśáya, Tukhāra and Kucīnam.[17] According to the *Matsyapurāṇa* (50, 76), their country is said to be watered by the river Caksu (Vakṣu or the Oxus). This Purāṇa states that the Cūlikas founded 9 kingdoms in India during the dark times of the Kali age. This passage also occurs in the *Vāyupurāṇa* (99,268). Among a host of variants of this this word cūlika, sūlika, cucupa, vulika, vunika, vrulika, padika, cudika, jhillika, dhulik etc. the substratum *su-li*, stand ing for Sughd, is manifestly pervasive. The descendants of these Sulikas are abundantly found in the Panjab at present. The *Sulki* rajputs of the Shahpur district, the *Solgi* and *Solkaḥ* Jats of the Multan region and the *Sud*, *Sood*, *Sudgi* and *Suri* Khatris of Amritsar, Ludhiana and Macchiwara[18] regions represent the remnants of these Sogdian settlers. Likewise the *Cālukyas* of the Deccan and the *Solankis* of Gujrat in ancient times appear to have been connected with these people.[91] The language of the Sogdians, characterised by a tendency to replace the sonants by the surds, was known to Indian grammarians as *Culikā-Paiśācī*.[20]

The Sogdian immigrants to India became ardent followers and propagators of Buddhism. We learn from the biography of the Sogdian Buddhist monk Seng-hui, who settled in

16. *Mahābhārata* VI, 75, 21.
    तुषारा यवनाश्चैव शकाश्च सह चूलिकैः (चूचुपैः) ।
    दक्षिणं पक्षमाश्रित्य स्थिता व्यूहस्य भारत ॥
17. Prabodha Chandra Bagchi, *Deux Lêxiques Sanskrit-Chinois* (1929) pp. 295; 336.
18. D. C. J. Ibbetson, *Op. cit* Vol. III pp. 435, 428, 430.
19. Prabodha Chandra Bagchi, *India and Central Asia* pp. 147-148.
20. Buddha Prakāsh, 'Thākura', *Central Asiatic Journal* Vol. III pp. 333-334.

Nanking, built there a monastery, founded a Buddhist school and introduced this religion in South China for the first time, that "he was born of a Sogdian family long established in India. His father was a merchant and went to Tonking, where he settled down for his business."[21] This monk translated about a dozen Buddhist texts in Chinese and some of them are still extant. Besides Seng-hui, a larger number of Sogdian monks visited China and translated Buddhist works into her language. Their names are usually preceded by the epithet *kang*, which denotes their nationality. Some of the Chinese translations were made from Sogdian versions and bear the stamp of Sogdian expressions. It has been noted that certain astrological terms in some Chinese versions are manifestly Sogdian.[22]

In this period a significant Iranian element also infiltrated into the Panjab. The Parthian dynasty was essentially Iranian. Hence a pronounced Iranian strain appeared in the population of the Panjab. It is a well-known fact that sun-worship in its iconographic aspect has an Iranian appearance. In particular the *kavaca* and *kuṇḍala* of the sun-icons stand for the Iranian armour and the waist-girdle *avyanga* (aiwiyaonghana).[23] Likewise the boots and leggings of these icons betray Central Asiatic influence. The priests of the sun-temples were invariably the Maga Brāhmaṇas. It is said that Sāmba, the son of Kṛṣṇa, brought them from Śākadvīpa to Jambudvīpa. Sāmba was suffering from leprosy and Nārada asked him to construct a temple of the sun on the Candrabhāgā. No Brāhmaṇa was ready to work in that temple. Hence he invited the Saka Brāhmaṇas. They were known as Bhojakas and tied round their waist the sacred girdle called *avyanga*. In the *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa* these Maga or Śākadvīpī Brāhmaṇas are said to have sprung from the union of Sūrya and Nikṣubhā, the daughter of the Sage Rijīhva, belonging to the Mihira gotra. She had a son, named Jaraśabda for Jaraśata, who became the progenitor of the Maga Brāhmaṇas. Jaraśabda or Jaraśata is the Indianised form of Zarathustra (Zoroaster.).[24]

21. Prabodha Chandra Bagchi, *Le Canon Bouddhique en Chine* Vol. I p. 304.

23. Jitendra Nath Banerji, 'Myths explaining some Alien Traits of the North-Indian Sun Icons', *Indian Historical Quarterly* Vol. XXVIII (1952) p. 1-6.

24. D. R. Bhandarkar, 'Foreign Elements in Hindu Population' *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XI pp. 1-37.

The Maga-Brāhmaṇas are repeatedly mentioned in Indian historical records. The Deo Barnark Inscription of Jīvitagupta[25] mentions Bhojaka Brāhmaṇas, who were in charge of a sun-temple. The Ghatiyala Inscription of Kakkuka[26] was composed by a Maga Brāhmaṇa named Mātṛiravi. The Govindapur inscription of Varṇamāna of Śaka 1,059[27] affirms the statement of the Bhaviṣyapurāṇa that the Magas arose from the sun's body and Sāmba brought them from Śākadvīpa. The Hund inscription of 169 Harṣa era=774-775 A.D.[28] mentions the Sūryadvijas, who were associated with a devakula dedicated to Kāmeśvarī goddess. Their tutelary goddess was Dadhyā.[29] Hence they are also called Dādhima, Dāhima and Dahiya. These names show their connection with the Scythian people Dahae. The Dahima family became very prominent under the Paramāras. In the Jained Stone Inscription of the Paramāra King Jagaddeva[30] there is a reference to a Paramāra minister Lolārkka, hailing from the Dāhima family, whose wife Padmāvatī constructed the Nimbāditya temple. The name of Lolārkka reminds one of Lolakāditya mentioned in the Kamauli copper plate of Jayacandradeva of V.S. 1,233.[31] Among the sealings, found at Rajghat in Banaras, one bears the name of Śrī-Lolakāditya and a representation of a fire altar, ovei which a solar disc is placed.[32] Another seal has a reference to Gabhastīśvara.[33] These facts show the wide prevalence and popularity of sun-worship, associated with the Iranian and Scythian people, in ancient India. The modern castes of *Mehra* and *Moghā* in the Panjab are remnants of these Mihira-worshipping Magas.

An important branch of the Scythian peoples were the Wu-sun. They occupied the valleys of the Ili and the Issyk-kul

25. *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. IX pp. 27.
26. *Ibid.* Vol. 9 p. 280.
27. *Ibid.* Vol. II
28. *Ibid.* Vol. XXII p. 98.
29. *The Dadhimāti Inscription of Drulhaṇa* of G. S. 289=600 A. D. (Epigraphia Indica XI).
30. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1901) pp. 106-107.
31. *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. XXII p. 61.
32. *Archaeological Survey of India* (Annual Reports) 1911-12 Plate XXI 98, 99, 100 101, V. S. Pathak, 'Religious Sealings from Rajghat,' *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India* Vol. XIX (1957) p. 177.
33. V. S. Pathak, *Op. Cit.*, p. 176.

in the second century B. C.[34] De Groot holds that 'Wu-sun' means 'the grandsons of the raven'. Among these people there was a tradition that once, when their ancestor was dying of hunger, a raven brought him meat and saved his life. Hence his off-spring were called the 'grandsons of raven' or Wu-sun.[35] In the fourth century A. D. *Wu-sun* was pronounced as *Gusur*.[36] From this word the name of the *Gujars* is derived. The name of the Khazars, who occupied a prominent position on the borderland of Europe and Asia[37] is also derived from this word. Reminiscences of the various stages of the immigration of these Wu-sun-khazars into the Panjab are preserved in a series of place-names : *Gurjestan* in the neighbourhood of the White Huna Capital Badeghiz, *Ujaristan* beyond Arghandab west of Hazara, *Gujaristan* near Gazni, *Gujrat* and *Gujranwala* in the Panjab.[38] These Gurjaras established the famous Pratihāra empire in northern India. Their modern descendants are the *Gujars*.

Another Central Asiatic tribe of Iranian affinity, which played an important part in history, was the Khionites, who have been identified with the Hephthalites.[39] These people were known as Śvetahūṇas also. They penetrated into India in the fifth century and founded a kingdom there.[40] In the Panjab the *Hūṇas* are a Khatri caste. Many people bear this surname. Another prominent caste of the Khatris is *Khannā*, which represents the *Khyon* or the Khionites. The ruling clan of the *Hūṇas* was *Chaul* or *Jaula*. Toramāṇa and his son Mihirakula belonged to this clan. In the Kura inscription Toramāṇa has called himself a Jaula. (*Rajādhirāja-mahārāja-toramāṇa-śāhī-jau* (*bla*)). In an inscription of Mahendrapāla I (893-907) there is a reference to the Jaulas among the Tomara

34. V. V. Barthold, *Four Studies on the History of Central Asia* translated into English from Russian by Minorski (1956) pp. 5, 74, 166.

35. J. J. De Groot, *Urkunden zur Geschichte Asiens* II, 23, 24 cited in Otto Maenchen-Helfen, 'The Yueh-chih Problem Reexamined,' *Journal of the American Oriental Society* Vol. 65 (1945) p. 74.

36. Prabodha Chandra Bagchi, *India and Central Asia* p. 139.

37. James Campbell, *Bombay Gazetteer* Vol. IX part I p. 471.

38. D. R. Bhandarkar, *Some Aspect s of Ancient Indian Culture* pp. 64-65.

39. R. Ghirshman, *Les Khionites-Hephtalites* (Cairo 1948) *Introduction* p. XII.

40. Buddha Prakash, 'Kālidāsa and the Hūṇas', *Journal of Indian History* Vol. XXXV (1957) pp. 116-117.

chiefs.[41] The Jaulas or Chauls seem to survive in the modern *Chawlas* of the Panjab.

The above account shows that a large number of Central Asiatic and Iranian peoples contributed to the evolution of the social system of the Panjab. The chinese also came there and survive among the Chin Jats.[42] The modern castes of the Panjab, which we have identified with ancient tribes in this study, are alphabetically arranged as follows :—

1.	Arodā	=	Āraṭṭa, Arāṣṭraka
2.	Bagga	—	Bhagala
3.	Badhwar	=	Bhadra
4.	Bedi	=	,,
5.	Bahl	=	Bālhīka
6.	Behl	=	,,
7.	Bhalla	=	,,
8.	Bhalka	=	,,
9.	Bhallar	=	,,
10.	Bhallowana	=	,,
11.	Chawla	=	Jaula
12.	Gujar	=	Gurjara, Khazar Wu-sun,
13.	Hūṇa	=	Hūṇa
14.	Jat	=	Jarta=Iatioi
15.	Jonejā	=	Yavanaja=Ionian
16.	Kamboh	=	Kamboja
17.	Kang	=	Kang-kiu
18.	Kapur	=	Ārjunāyana (?)
19.	Khanna	=	Khyon (Khionite)
20.	Kharoti	=	Kharoṣṭha
21.	Khosla	=	Kusulaka
22.	Khokar	=	Kāraskara
23.	Madan	=	Madra
24.	Malava	=	Malava=Malloi
25.	Mehra	=	Maga
26.	Osahan	=	Śāhi (saka)
27.	Pathan	=	Paktha

41. Louis de la Vallée-Poussin, *Dynasties et histoire de l' Inde depuis Kaniṣka jusq'aux invasions mussulmans* p. 123.

42. H. A. Rose, *Glossary* Vol. I p. 53.

28. Puri	=	Paurava
29. Salujā	=	Sālvaja=Sālva
30. Sahni	=	Śāhānuśāhī=Kuṣāṇa
31. Sikka	=	Saka
32. Soi	=	Sai-wang (saka)
33. Sondhi	=	Śauṇḍika
34. Sud 35. Sulka 36. Suri	=	Sulik=Sogdian.
37. Tokhi	=	Tukhāra
38. Thākar	=	Tukhara
39. Vishnoi	=	Vaiṣṇava=Vāsudevaka
40. Wasdev	=	,,

3. *The widening of horizons and broadening of perspectives.*

We have observed that the Panjab became a meeting-place of various peoples and a melting-pot of diverse cultures in ancient times. Hence its society became heterogenous and heterodox and detracted from the standards of the conservative people. The puritans nestled themselves in the Gangetic valley and branded the Panjabis impure and impious and shunned contact with them. The literature f this region breathes a spirit of revolt against the people of the Panjab. But in this land of sin and sacrilege there was a unique widening of horizons and broadening of perspectives as a consequence of the coming and mingling of various peoples and their cultures. People levelled down the walls of tradition, demolished the towers of isolationism and breathed in the open air of syncretism. The Kuṣāṇas "abolished the Hindu-Kush" not only from the administration, but also from the minds. As a result, the people threw off the Himalayan barrier of parochialism and developed a vast weltanshaaung. They felt as if the mountains of the north, which isolated them from the Asiatic world, had melted into thin air and they had became one with the peoples and cultures of this vast continent. The literature of this region gives a beautiful account of this psychological change.

The *Vibhāṣāśāstra* is a significant product of the council of five hundred monks held under Kaniṣka. We have three Chinese versions of this text: (1) *Pi po cha loun* of Sangha-po-tch' an of 383 A. D., (2) *A pi' tan p'i po cha loun* of Buddhavarman of 437 A.D. & (3) *A p'i ta mo t'a p'i p'o cha loun* of Hiuan T'sang

of 564-459 A. D. In Chapter LXXIX of the translation of Hiuen T'sang we read :

"When Bhagavat at first preached the four holy truths to the four devarājas in the holy (Ārya) language, two of the devarājas could follow him and two could not. As Bhagavat was moved by compassion and wanted those other two to be benefitted, he spoke the vulgar language of the country of the southern frontier of India (Tan-lo, T'o-p'i-lo (drāviḍa) according to Buddhavarman) and expounded the four holy truths. Hiuen T'sang reproduces this language as "yi ni mi ni ta pou ta ye pou"=*ini mini tapu* (*dabu*) *tadapu*.

Then another did not understand. As Bhagvat was moved by compassion and wanted him to be benefitted,he spoke a Mleccha language and expounded the four holy truths. Hiuen T'sang reproduces this language as 'mo che tou che song cha mo sa fo tan lo p'i la tch'i"=*maśatuṣasaṃśamasavatra viraṭi*.[1]

At another place in the same text it is stated that Buddha spoke a word in Ārya language and the people of each country listened to him in his own language. A man of China (*Tchina* according to Hiuen T'sang, *Tchintan*, according to Sangha Po-tch'an and Buddhavarman), sitting in that assembly, felt that Buddha was expressing himself in the language of China. Similarly a *Li-Kia* or *Cho-Kia* (*Saka*), a *Ye-fa-na* (Yavana), a *Ta-lo-t'o* (Darada), a *Mo-ye-p'o* (Mālava), a *Ki'a-cha*, a *Tou-ho-lc* (Tukhāra) and a *Po-ho-lo* (Pahlava) each felt that Buddha was preaching to him in the language of his own country and, thus hearing him, he received enlightenment.[2]

A careful study of these accounts shows that the horizon of the writer included every part of the then known world from *Drāviḍa* in the South to *Pahlava* and *Tukhāra* in the North and from *Yavana* in the West to *Cīna* in the East. The writer envisaged an atmosphere, in which the languages of all these peoples were spoken at one and the same place. Hence Buddha's injunction : "you are not to put the Buddha's words into Vedic.

1. Bunyiu Nanjio *A Catalogue of the Chinese Translation of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka* (*Oxford* 1863) nos. 1279, 1264 and 1263.

2. Sylvain Lévi, 'Notes chinoises sur l' Inde, V, Quelques documents sur le Bouddhisme indien dans l'Asie Central,' *Bulletin de l' ecole Francaise d' Extrême Orient* Vol. V. (1905) pp. 253-305 at p. 286.

Who does so would commit a sin. I authorize you, monks, to learn the Buddha's words each in his own dialect (sakāya-niruttiyā)"[3], received a new impetus and a host of scholars of various tribes and countries undertook to render the Master's words into their own languages. Thus a great movement of conversion and evangelisation was initiated in China, Central Asia, Iran and the West.

The words of the Buddha were not only translated in various languages, but were also interpreted in terms of various culture-complexes in different countries and climates. Thus Buddhism was immensely liberalised and broadbased. The manifesto of this catholicism is contained in the *Tathāgataguhya-sūtra* of the Ratnakūṭa collection. We have two versions of this sūtra, one by Tchou Fa-han, done in 280, and the other by Fa-hou, prepared between 1004 and 1058. In it Vajrapāṇi addresses a sermon to Śāntamati on the teaching of Buddha and observes :

In order to conform to the languages of all creatures, the words of Buddha, containing the four holy truths, are rendered in a variety of ways. The Nāgas, Yakṣas, Kinnaras, Gandharvas, Asuras, Garuḍas, Mahoragas, Yakṣa-sthirakāyas, Yakṣa-jaṭādharas all expound and express the four holy truths in their respective languages. O, Śāntamati, in that region of Jambudvīpa there are roughly a thousand kingdoms and there are sixteen big kingdoms; every race and kind of men has its own different language, different idiom and different moral disposition. The Tathāgata uses their words for establishing the four holy truths so that all may understand them. Hence they conform to the languages and expressions of all."

Then the text goes on to list the peoples, whose languages are referred to in the above passage, as follows :

Ngan-si (Pahlava, Parthia), *Yue-tche* (Kuṣāṇa), *Ta-tsin* (the Graeco-Roman world), *Kieu--feou* (Kamboja), *T'ao-toung* (?) *K'ieou tseu* (Kuca), *Yu-t'ien* (Khotan), *Sha-le* (Kashghar), *Chan-chan* (to the south of Lop-nor), *Wou-K'i* or *Yen-K'i* (Karashahr), *Hioung-nou* (Hūṇa), *Sien-pi* (Sarbi), *Wou*

3. *Cullavagga* V, 33, *Vinaya Piṭaka* (PTS).
II, 139, For Buddha's linguistic policy see F. Edgerton, 'The Buddha and Language,' *Indian Historical Quarterly* Vol. XXXII (1956) 129-135.

(Southern China with Nanking as capital), *Chou* (Western China near Sseu-tchoen) *T'sin* (a principality of Shansi), *Mouo, Yi,* and *Ti* (barbarian tribes of the Chinese frontier), *She* (Śākya or Saka) *T'a lo-to* (Darada), the Ignorants (fools), the Savages, the *Siu-man-ye* (tcheou), the Kingdom of Women *Strīrājya*), *Meou-teou-tch'a* (?) (mutuṭa), the Kingdom of Cause (*hetu*), *Po-lo-nai* (Benaras), the Kingdom of Trees (druma) the Kingdom of Golden Roots (*Suvaraṇamūla*), the Kingdom of the Root of P'i lo (*Pilumūla*), the Kingdom of *Ki-pi-cha* (Kāpiśi), the Kingdom of Great Roots (*Vṛddhamūla*), the Kingdom of Upper Roots (*Ūrdhavamūla*), the Kingdoms of the North and the West.

This sūtra is translated into Tibetan and is included in the Kandjour. The list of countries and peoples figures there as follows :—

Sa-Ka = (ka-ca)	=	Śaka
Pa-hu-pa (pa-hla-va)	=	Pahlava
Tho-gar	=	Tukhāra
Ya-ma-na	=	Yavana
Kam-po-ce (kam po ji)	=	Kamboja
Kha-sha	=	Khasa
Hu-na	=	Hūṇa
Rgya-yul	=	Cīna
Da-ra-ta	=	Darada
U-ra-sha	=	Uraśā
Pi-li-na	=	?
So-ma	=	Soma
Bram-Je	=	Brāhmaṇa
Rgyal rigs	=	Kṣatriya
Rje rigs	=	Vaiśya
D-mans rigs	=	Śūdra
Da-ci-ba	=	?
Ki-ra-ta	=	Kirāta
Pu-lin-ta	=	Pulinda
Pun-dra	=	Puṇḍra
Ku-ru-na	=	Kuru
Lṅa len	=	Pañcāla
Car phyogs	=	Prāgdeśa
Phu ru ka	=	?
Ka-lin-ka	=	Kalinga

Geer-hu	= Nagna
Pa-na sa-ga	= ?
Pa-ma-ta	= ?
Sha-la-ka	= ?
Khysi gaoṅ	= Śvamukha
Wa goṅ	= Śrgālamukha
Kri pa c'ai g don	= ?
Spyi bo gengs	= Expanded heads
Gnam gdoṅ po	= Ākāśamukha
Phye phyogs gdoṅ-	= Paścānmukha
Byaṅ phyogs gdoṅ	= Uttaramukha
Rajes su rgyag	= annacara
Rgya mcho'i kholba	= Samudra
Yul anth as gtugs pa	= ?
Aṅ kura	= Ankura
Man ku ra	= Mankura
Sua med	= ?
Glo bkra	= Pārśvacitra
Phyogs kyi gcer bu	= Nagna
Geog thogs gcer bu	= ?

Such lists of countries are also found in *Avataṁsakasūtra* and in the *Sūryagarbhasūtra*, which is an appendix of the *Candragarbhasūtra*. The *Sūryagarbhasūtra* was translated into Chinese by the translator Narendrayaśas. In it there is a reference to the emitting of rays from the face of Buddha, which illumined all the regions of the earth. Hence innumerable millions of Buddhas manifested themselves all over the world. Then follows the enumeration of the countries and the number of the manifestations of the Buddha, which appeared there.

Fifty eight countries are named from Benaras (Po-lo-nai) to Cina (Tchen-tan). The intervening countries constitute the usual route of pilgrims passing by the Indus, the Pamir and Central Asia. After naming the places and provinces of India, the author enumerates the frontier regions, *Fou-leou-cha-fou-lo* (Puruṣapura), *Wou-tch'ang* (Udyāna), *Ki-sa-lo* (Kesara, saffron producing regions of the Oxus), *Kin-sing* (Suvarṇagotra), *Yeou-lo-cho* (Uraśā), *T'o-lo-t'o* (Darada) *Po-sseu* (Persia), *Tch'e-kin* (Tekin) etc and then goes on to refer to the Central Asiatic states, marking the route from the Pamir to China, *Chou-li-kia* (Śūlika) *P'o-k'ia-lo* (Bakhtra, Bactria), *Kia-cha* (Khaśa), *Tchö-*

kiu-kia (Cakoka), *Yu-t'ien* (Khotan), *Kieou-tseu* (Kucā), *P'o-leou-kia* (Bālukā, Bālukārṇava or the desert of Taklamakan), *Kin-no-lo* (Kinnara), *Tchan-tan* (Cīnasthāna) etc.

In this text the prominence of Asiatic territories over Indian regions is clear from the fact that whereas the number of the manifestations of Buddha in the former is 971, in the latter it is 813. Whereas Benaras is credited with 60 manifestations, Kashghar is said to have had 98, Koucha 99, Khotan 180 and China 255. This shows that these Buddhist texts developed in the vast horizons of Asiatic lands.

The widening of horizon is also manifest from a large number of other Buddhist texts, notably the *Candragarbhasūtra*, according to which Khotan enjoys the privilege of being the holiest place of Buddhism, and the Sūtra relating to Śrīgupta (Tö-hou), in which it is stated that this prince of Ts'in (China) became a Buddha under the name *Asamakāya-Tathāgata* and propagated the faith in Central Asia. His son Candraprabha-kumāra (Chen-je-king) is also a notable figure of Asiatic Buddhism. It is said that he received a prediction (*vyākaraṇa*) of Buddha, whereupon he got up, worshipped Bhagavat and told him, "If ever, O Bhagavat, I become a Buddha, I would ask that all the people should be free from bad and impure thoughts." Bhagavat addressed Ānanda and said "thou hast heard Candra-prabhakumāra or not?" Ānanda replied "yes sir, I have heard." Buddha said to Ānanda, "one thousand years after my pari-nirvāṇa, the law will be interrupted, then Candraprabha-kumāra will appear in the Kingdom of Ts'in. He will be a holy prince. He will receive the law of my sūtra and will make the faith prosper. The land of China as well as the Kingdoms of Chan-chan, Wou-tch'ang or Yen-ki, Kieou-tseu Chou-le, Ta-yuan, Yu-t'ien, Kiang, Lu, Yi and Ti will honour Bhagavat and respect his law. Everywhere people will become bhikṣus with all their children, sons and daughters, while hearing Chen je king. All their transgressions, faults and disrespect, shown to the law, will be entirely effaced."

Here we have a totally Central Asiatic weltanschaaung marked by local heroes and saints. Śrīgupta and Candraprabha-kumāra are Chinese characters. Similarly the sage Kharoṣṭha is a Central Asiatic figure. In chapter VIII of the *Sūrya-garbhasūtra*, corresponding to chapter XLI of *Mahāsannipāta*,

we have the following account of this saint :—

"The Bodhisattva Śucirasa (Chou-tche' (ho)-lo-so) addressed the Nāgas and said, "Great kings ! in the past in the beginning of bhadrakalpa there was a great city named Campā. In that city lived a devaputra named Ta San-mo-t'o (Mahāsammata). One of his wives, being particularly passionate, cohabited with an ass and gave birth to a son, whose head, ears, mouth and eyes were those of an ass, but he had a body of man. One day a Rākṣasī, named Lu-chen (Khari), saw the child abandoned by his mother, she took him and brought him up without distinguishing between him and her own children and nourished him on the drugs of immortals. He passed his time with the children of gods. At last a great god became interested in him and took him under his protection. The gods gave him the name of Kia-lou-che-tch'a (*Kharoṣṭha*) (having the lips of an ass) ta sien (*maharṣi*). In the Himalayas and other places, whereever he went, good flowers, good fruits, good medicines and good odours sprang up. By the effect of those drugs and fruits his ugliness disappeared, his body became embellished, he had only the lips of an ass then. That is why his name is the ṛṣi with the lips of an ass. That ṛṣi with the lips of an ass was initiated in the holy law and passed 60 thousand years standing on one foot. The gods, headed by Śakra, who saw him, went to adore him and thus all creatures worshipped him."[5]

As a matter of fact the name Kharoṣṭha was commonly prevalent among the Śakas. In the Mathurā Lion Capital Inscription there is a reference to a prince, named Kharaosta, son of Arta.[6] His daughter Ayasia Kamuia, his wife Abuhola, his mother Pispasi, his son Haynare, with his daughter Hana, established a relic of Buddha and constructed a stupa and a sanghārāma for the order of the Sarvāstivādins, after performing solemnities over the king Muki (Moga) and his horse. He himself dedicated the land with encampment to the teacher Buddhadeva and to Budhila from Nagarahāra, a monk of the Sarvāsti-

5. Sylvain Lévi, 'Notes chinoises sur l' Inde, IV, Le pays de Kharoṣṭra et l' écriture Kharoṣṭri' *Bulletin de l' ecole Francaise de l' Extrême Orient* Vol. IV (1904) pp. 543-579 at page 565.

6. Sten Konow, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* V. ' ... II page ...

vādin order, who has been identified by Sylvain Lévi with Fo-ti-lo, who composed the treatise Tri-chin-lun (*Saṁyukta tattvaśāstra*) for the use of the Mahāsaṅghikas. The name of Kharaosta recalls the name of the saint Kharoṣṭha. This name was popular in Central Asia, where the ass was prominently found. It is a common practice to name persons after important animals. Among the Indo-Iranians the names of persons were mostly based an 'aspa-aśva', the names of horse. Likewise in Central Asia personal names were derived from the name of ass. Thus Kharoṣṭha is a typically Central Asiatic name. The fact that Kharoṣṭha was deified and included in Buddhist hagiogology shows the process of the naturalisation and local colouring of Buddhism in Central Asiatic regions. The literature, relating to these foreign figures, Śrīgupta, Candraprabhakumāra and Kharoṣṭha, is symbolic of the transformation of Buddhism into a universal religion as a consequence of the expansion of the perspectives of the people, who were its followers, carriers and missionaries.

This literature, some specimens of which have been given above, was the product of the Kuṣāṇa age. It is well-known that under Kaniṣka a Buddhist assembly was held at Puruṣapura, in which 500 monks and scholars of different parts of Asia took part and collaborated in the compilation of the vast Mahāyāna literature. According to Tāranātha, the *Ārya-ratna-kūṭa-dharma-paryāya-śata-sāhasrikā* in 21,000 sections, the *Ārya-dharma-vyūha* in 12,000 slokas, the *Ārya-dharma-saṅgīti* in 12,000 ślokas and many other sūtras, kārikās and vibhāṣās were composed as a result of the deliberations of that assembly.[7] Pārśva, Āśvaghoṣa, Amṛta, Nāgārjuna, Āryadeva, Ghoṣaka and a host of other scholars, monks and missionaries contributed to the formulation of the doctrine, that was expounded in this literature.[8] These persons spoke different languages, wrote different scripts, had different legends and traditions and belonged to different cultures and civilizations. Their meeting, contact and intercourse are reflected in the injunction to use different languages, laid down in the *Vibhāṣā*, the permission to

7. Schiefner, *Tāranātha's Geschichte der Buddhismus in Indien* p. 63.

8. Obermiller, *Bu-ston's History of Buddhism* pp. 108-109.

use different scripts, *Fan* (Brāhmī), k'ia-lou (K'ia-lou-chi-ti= Kharoṣṭhi) Chinese and others, given in the *Lalitavistara* and the *Abhidharmavibhāṣāśāstra* (translated by Buddhavarman between 425 and 440) and the toleration of different ideas adumbrated in the *Tathāgataguhyasūtra*. In that atmosphere various foreign ideas infiltrated into the Bodhisattva doctrine and various new styles were introduced in literature. Sylvain Lèvi has shown that the epistles (*lekha*), like that, addressed by Maṭrceṭa to Kaniṣka, and by Nāgārjuna to the Śātavāhana monarch and the *Śiṣyalekha* of Candragomin were copied from the West[9], and Foucher has suggested that the hymns (stotra), like those, composed by Maṭrceṭa and others were inspired by Western models.[10] These facts indicate the trends of universalism, which gave a great incentive to the propagation of Buddhism in Asia.

We have seen above that the council of Puruṣapura was symbolic of the expansion and propagation of Buddhism in Asia. We have also observed that Ghoṣaka took part in that council. He was a Tukhāra and worked on the compilation of the *Vibhāṣā*. He also composed an original treatise on Abhidharma, which is called *Abhidharmāmṛta* and was rendered into Chinese in the third century. He is probably the beginner of the Pāścātya Vaibhāṣika school, which was associated with Bālhīka land. Hence the Yue-che became the followers of the Vaibhāṣika school. The Vaibhāṣika Āryacandra translated the Maitreyasamiti into the Tukharian language and the Vaibhāṣika ācārya Dharmamitra, a native of Tarmit (Termez) on the Paksu (Oxus) in the Tukhāra country, composed the *Vinayasūtraṭīkā*, which is preserved in the Tibetan Tandjur. The Tukharian monks played a significant part in the propagation of Buddhism in China. These monks are distinguished by the prefix *che* attached to their names. Kāśyapa Mātaṅga and Dharmaratna met the Chinese ambassadors in this region. Besides them, Lokakṣema, Tche kien, Dharmarakṣa, She-lun and Dharmanandin are well-known for their Chinese translations of Buddhist texts. Besides the Yue-che monks, the Parthian and Sogdian scholars also made splendid

9. Sylvain Lévi, 'Kaniṣka et Śātavāhana' *Journal Asiatique* (1936) pp. 114-15.

10. A. Foucher, *La vieille route de l' Inde de Bactres à Taxila*, Vol. II pp. 298-299.

contributions to the spread of Buddhism in China and the translation of her literature into her language. The names of these missionaries and translators are prefixed by the words *An* (Ngan) and *K'ang* respectively. Ngan She-kao and Seng-hui were important representatives of these two tribes. Thus we observe that Buddhism had became the chosen vessel of the unification of Iran, Tukhāristan, China and the Panjab under the Kuṣāṇas.

The above survey of the political and social history of the Panjab up to the fall of the Mauryas and the indication of the directions and tendencies, which it was destined to follow in the next Śaka-yavana period, have demonstrated that there are two facets of the unfoldment of the destiny of the people of this region They have been imbibing and assimilating the elements of Asiatic culture and detracting from the conservative codes of life, evolved among the sedate and puritan people of Āryāvarta, on the one hand, and developing an elastic and resilient frame of mind and maturing a wide weltanschaaung of expansion and toleration, on the other. Hence the Panjab is an epitome of Asia. Its history is a synthesis of the various trends of the life of Asiatic peoples. Its culture is a crucible of diverse strands of the development of Asiatic countries. Its motto has been laid down by a gifted north-western thinker of Peshawar as follows :—

"Vidyā-vipakṣo-dharmo'nyo' vidyāmitrānṛtādivat"[11]

"Nescience is only a form of knowledge, different from prescience, just as a foe is only a man of an outlook, different from that of a friend, and falsehood is only a standpoint, different from that of truth."

11. Vasubandhu, *Abhidharmakośa* II, 28 (Rāhula Sāṇkṛityāyanas' edition) p. 61.

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